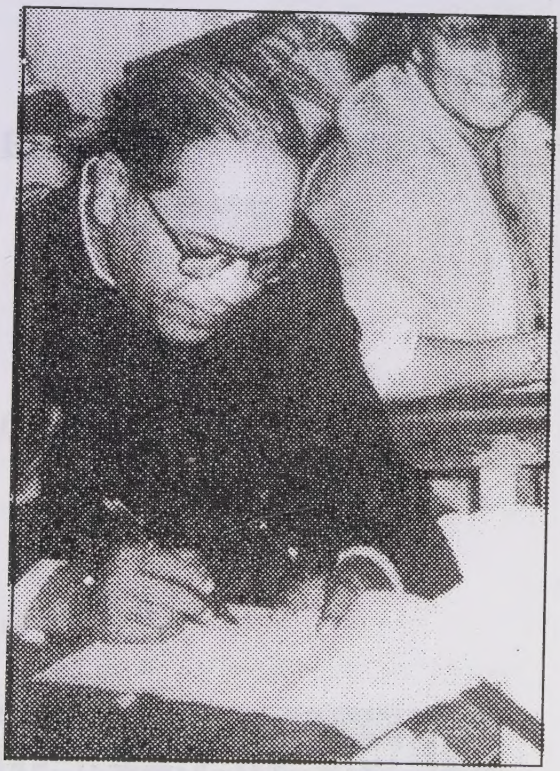
THOUGHTS
OF
Dr. BABASAHEB AMBEDKAR

Edited by : **Y.D. SONTAKKE**

SHOUT
SHARE
IT

H. Hoeker

The famous biographer Mr. Dhanjay Keer has rightly said that "no one could equal to Ambedkar in his carrier in this country or perhaps in the world. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was the most learned person of his time. He has the many facets of his life. He expressed his view on various subjects, directly effective to the human society. In fact his views, which are brought to public are so volumunious and are not possible to the every one to go through these scattered and volumunious writings and trace out the desired thought. With a view to make the thoughts readily available, comprising all the subjects, with references so as to ascertain the authenticity these thoughts are edited in book form. This book will be helpful to one and all those who believe in social democracy, and to those who are determined to bring the social transformation.



THOUGHTS OF DR. BABASAHEB AMBEDKAR

First Edition : 2004 (Buddhist Era 2548)

ISBN 81-88794-56-2

Publisher : SAMYAK PRAKASHAN
32/3, Paschim Puri, New Delhi—110 063
Phone : 252 16147, 252 16489
email : budhdharam@bol.net.in

© All rights reserved

No part of this book may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording or by any information storage and retrieval system without permission in writting from the editor.

Price :
Paper Back : Rs. 200
Hardbound : Rs. 350

Title : Thoughts of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar
Editor : Y.D. SONTAKKE
Cover : Shant Kala Niketan

Type Setting : Sundeep Art & Graphics

Printers : Gautam Printers, New Delhi

DEDICATED

to the memory
of my mother
Parvatabai Daulatrao Sontakke

PREFACE

Mr. Y.D. Sontakke has edited 'Thoughts of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar 'in a book form.The thoughts of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar have claimed unparalled importance and significance in the present scenario, economic and political. In the era of economic libralisation and privatisation, they have deserved so much more importance than never before. They have inherent worthwile potential and inner strength to solve almost all the problems, mankind has been imposed on to face,in the present time .

Mr. Y.D. Sontakke, through his strenuous efforts, has arranged systematically many of the Ambedkarite thoughts, subject-wise. Arranging them in this method is never a simple job. Much of time,energy and concentration certainly required to be spent . Subject-wise elaborated explanation has been offered in past by Honourable Dr. D.R.Jatava.He has devoted all his life to the enunciation of thoughts and philosophy of Dr. Ambedkar,subject wise in the form of many of his most important books .

Other authors like Mr. D.C.Dhir ,Shankeranand Shastri and respected N.C.Rattu has followed his suit in the english language. Present work by Mr. Y.D. Sontakke,although not his own analysis , goes in the same rank as of the above authors .

The book forms the Dictionary of concepts propounded by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. Keep the finger on any of them and the material is ready before you. In the period of such a confusing and time consuming hustle-bustle what an average man wants is readily available thoughts to ponder over and act upon. Mr. Y.D. Sontakke has understood such a delicate nerve and served average man generally and intellectual particularly with instant thoughts of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. He has beautifully divided the book in social, political , religious ,economic parts.In addition he has spread lights on important statements, messages,advices and warnings to the nation and the mankind, of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. Annextures, Reminiscences, Aims and objects of institutions and organisations set by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar form another special feature of the book. For every intellectual man, leader, organisation, reserch-scholar and library the book has become a must to be kept in collection and read over. Mr. Y.D. Sontakke deserves commendation and encouragement from the elite quarters.

—Bhaskar Sontakke

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

It is really a matter of great pleasure for us to include this publication in our book-list. Actually, we were in search of a book containing the quotations of Baba Saheb Dr. Ambedkar duly supported with relevant references. I am thankful to Mr. Y.D. Sontakke for editing this book. Though there are so many books/booklets on the subject, they fail to refer to the source of the quotations and, as such, would not be acceptable as authentic ones. Mr. Sontakke has, thus, done a marvellous work by compiling Baba Saheb's quotations almost on all the relevant subjects.

We are proud that Samyak Prakashan, a publication house committed to the noble cause of bringing out Buddhist and Ambedkarite literature, is playing a leading role in this sphere. We fully believe that if we could maintain the present pace of publication of such literature, we will soon be able to take our noble movement to every individual interested in the mission.

My Thankful acknowledgements are due to Mr. Bhaskar Sontakke for writting the preface for this book.

We also believe that our readers will continue to patrowize the revival of the Ambedkarite movement through such literature.

With unlimited metta.

SHANTI SWAROOP BAUDDH

EDITORIAL

I am very much pleased to present this book to the readers.The booK contains the thoughts of Dr.B.R.Ambedkar on various subjects.These thoughts are selected from the writings and speeches of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar published by the Education Department of Goverment of Maharastra and from other books written on Dr. Ambedkar by some authors.

Socio-political history of India of 20th century has witnessed some world famous personalities. Dr.B.R.Ambedkar is one among them. Dr.Ambedkar is remembered and admired as a nationalist,a learned economist, brilliant and dyanamic lawyer, constitutionalist, authority on political issues, statesman, author, agitator, lawmaker, liberator, leader of the oppressed and the exploited and the chief architect of Indian Constitution.

Dr.Ambedkar was born in the lowest class of Hindu Society.They were treated like the leper and were deprived of all social,economic,political and civic rights.Their sufferings and miseries were unparalleled in the history of world.Dr.Ambedkar regarged the woes and miseries of this class as a personal humiliation and therefore took a woe to make self-respecting citizens out of this downtrodden class.Indeed it was the nobelest mission of his life to elevate this class and build up the socio-political system in country based on liberty,equality and fraternity .Through his relentless struggle of about 40 years Dr.Ambedkar could make provision for special privileges to this class,as well as brought a new awakening and a sense of social significance,self-realization and confidence among them.Whatever the progress and development achived by these classes in social, educational,economic and political sphere,they are indebted to Dr.B.R.Ambedkar.

He is the chief architect of Indian Constitution.The Constitution is a synthesis of his national views.He believed that social and economic democracy are the tissues and fiber of a political democracy.Therefore he warned the people not to be content with a political democracy alone and emphasized the establishment of social democracy which means the recognition and realization of

the principals of liberity,equality and fraternity in social life.These principles are embodied in the preamble of Indian Constitution.The policy stated in the preamble of the Constitution indicates the resolve to constitute India into a welfare state.

Dr.Ambedkar was great in his time but he is the greatest today.His thoughts will always serve as a beacon-light for the new geneations.Therefore his thoughts need to make readily avaliable to the readers,in view of this, these endeavour.

In preparation of this book I derived inspiration from the magzine"The oppressed Indians " edited by Hon. Kanshiramji.I was sufferer of chronic headache,I came in contact with Vippassana meditation taught by Hon. Goyanka Guruji and got relived from headache,and could do this work .I am therefore deeply indebted to both of them. I also express my sincere thanks to my friends Mr.N.D.Lonar kar, M.K.Damale, H.A.Meshram, J.P.Bagde for their assistance in meditation camp.

I owe my sincere thanks to my friends Mr.J.P.Bauddh, N.D.Patil, S.S.Zodepe, R.Z.Gadpande, S.G.Gaurkar, Sanjay Gajbhiye, Narender Borkar, M.R.Borkar ,M.R.Dongre who encouraged and assisted me in this work.

I owe my sincere thanks to Shri.Nirmal Sahu, Navin Bansal of Shubham Computers and Shri.Malkeet Singh of Onkar Computers, Dhamtari and typist Gangaram Yadav, Dhamtari.

I am greatful to Mr. B.G.Sontakke of Nagpur, a staunch Ambedkarite and best orator,for writing the preface to this book.

My greatful thanks to Mr. Shanti Swaroop Bauddh of Samyak Prakashan, Delhi,for prompt and very good printing of this book.

I have tried to catagorised thoughts subjectwise .With a view to finding out easily the desired thought they are also catagorised sub-subjectwise. I have tried my level best to avoid ommissions and irregularities,even though there may be a possiblity of its occurence.I shall be greatful to the readers if the same is brought to my notice they will be rectified in the next issue.

22 Oct. 2004 **Y.D. SONTAKKE**

Vijayadashmi Day

Prophesy of
Rajarshi Chhatrapati Sahu

"You have found your saviour in Ambedkar. I am confident that he will break your shackles. Not only that a time will come when, whispers my conscience, Ambedkar will shine as a front rank leader of all India fame and appeal"

March 21-1920
Conference of Untouchables
held at Mangaon (Kolhapur State)
(Dr. Ambedkar – life and Mission)
By Dhananjay Keer-P-42

GREATFUL APPRECIATION

"Our most beloved Babasaheb"

"We the Chairman and Members of the Reception Committee of the third All India Depressed Classes Conference held at Nagpur, beg respectfully to present you this address on the occasion of your having completed 50th year of age, in token of our grateful appreciation of your long, sustained and untiring zeal and work in the cause of the downtrodden dumb millions of India.

.....if your life history is anything, it is nothing but the history of the progress of the oppressed millions and sacrifice of one individual. You are not only an individual to us but an institution. You are our soul guide, friend and philosopher; nay, you are the only prop of the Depressed Classes. Your continuous and sustained efforts in the just and righteous cause for the uplift of our classes are really the means of such benefits as we have so far achieved.

A budding lawyer as you were, with a vast future, you risked your all by throwing yourself whole-heartedly in the struggle for relieving the distressed from the oppression. In doing so you did not halt to realise that you were antagonising your future clients, viz, the Touchable classes, for a fight in the interest of the Depressed Classes is a fight against the so called caste Hindus.....

.....you are more than a creator to us. We were thrown by the creator in a bottom-less abyss, but unlike him you have done everything to lift us up out of it.

We can find in history no equal to you in respect of your head and heart, who, for no other reason than service to our classes, has been as liberal as you, in keeping open the purse freely and devoting all life and energy for our caste. Words fail us to open our hearts and gives expression to our feelings. Suffice it to say that if there be any living God on earth, he is personified in you.

We again offer you our sincere and heartfelt gratitude and wish you a long life so that your mission on this earth may be fulfilled."

Nagpur,
The 20th July 1942

We Beg to Remain,

Your most greatful and devoted followers.
Chairman and Members of the Reception
Committee of the All India Depressed Classes
Conference

W. & S.-Vol-17 (III)-P-273

No one could equal Dr. Ambedkar in his career.....

"No man in this country, are perhaps in any other country, could equal Ambedkar in his carrer which was exciting, varying romantic and wonderful. To be born on a dunghill, to begin life as an Untouchable, to be treated in one's boyhood as a leper, and to have caused one's youth barred and bolted from society, which showed one out of hair dressing saloons, hotels, hostels, cars, temples and offices is a shocking experience in life. To have acted as a tiffin carrier boy, to study while starving to obtain the highest degrees from world famous universities, to devote one's time to study, to have made one's way fighting every step forward, now with a surgical scalpel, now with a bludgeon favour neither by a family fortune, nor by political adoption, and to have faced perils and bitter political opposition, is creditable, courageous and remarkable enough.

And yet to have grown in name, fame and national prominence without being lifted by a party press or party caucuses, to have served on important committees relating to the development of Franchise, Economics and Constitution of a nation, to have been Labour Member of the Executive Council of a Government, to have been the first Law Minister of the free nation, to have been the Chief Architect of the Constituion of a nation that trampled one in one's boyhood, and to have released a suppressed people from the stigma, shackles and slavery under which they had groaned for ages, is surely an unequaled achievement in the whole experience of mankind ! and so this son of an Untouchable Hindu stands out in the history of this ancient land as an educationist, economists, author, professor, lawyer, leader, fighter, law-giver, law-maker, leveler and liberator."

Dhananjay Keer
The India's famous biographer.
(Dr. Ambedkar - Life and Mission -P-523)

A CHRONOLOGY OF MAIN EVENTS IN AMBEDKAR'S LIFE

1891, April 14	Born to Ramji Maloji Sankpal and Bhimabai at Mhow (MP).
1905	Married Ramabai at the age of 14.
1908	Matriculated from Elphisstone High School, Bombay.
1912	Graduated from Elphinstone College.
1915	Wrote Castes in India – Their mechanism, Genesis and Development.
1916	M.A. (Economics, Columbia University, USA) Ph.D.
1916	Joined London School of Economics and Political Sciences and also the Gray's Inn.
1918-20	Taught at Syndenham College of Commerce and Economics, Bombay as Professor of Economics.
1919	Gave evidence before the Southborough Reforms (Franchise) Committee claiming political rights for Depressed Classes in India
1920 June	Established a Marathi fortnightly, the Mooknayak
1921	Obtained M.Sc. Degree in England
1923	Obtained D.Sc Degree called to Bar
1923	Wrote the Problem of the Rupee
1924 June	Started legal practice at the Bombay High Court. Also started his active public career as a social worker, a politician, a writer and an educationist.
1924	Started " Bahishkrit Hitkarini Sabha" for the moral and material progress of the Untouchables.
1925-30	He set up four boarding houses in the Bombay Presidency for Untouchable students.
1926-34	Nominated member of the Bombay Legislative Assembly
1927 April	Started Bahiskrit Bharat fortnightly
1927 Sept.	Started the samaj samata sangh to preach social equality among the Untouchables and the Caste Hindues
1927 Dec.	Led. Satyagraha to establish the civic rights of the Untouchables to draw water from a public tank " Chavadar Tank " at Mahad. Won this case in the Bombay High Court in March 1937.
1928	Appointed a Professor in the Government Law Collage, Bombay and subsequently Principal of the Collage.
1929 March	Organised The Samata
1930	The Janata – A weekly
1930 March	Led Satyagraha for right of entry to the temple of Kalarama at Nasik

1930-33	Nominated delegate to the three Round Table Conferences in London.
1931 Nov.	Gandhi opposed his demand for seprate electorates for the Untouchables at the meeting of the Minorities Committee of the Second Round Table Conference
1932 Aug.	Communal Award announced conceding separate electorates for the Untouchables.
1932 Sept. 20-24	Gandhi went on fast and finally the Poona pact was made in Yervada jail
1935	Was made Perry Professor of Jurisprudence
1935 Oct.13	Ambedkar made an Announcement in a public meeting at Yeola ,District : Nasik ,that the Untouchables would leave the Hindu fold and accept another religion
1936 Oct.	Founded the Independent Labour Party of India.
1942 April	Formed the Scheduled Castes Federation as an All India political party
1943	Wrote Ranade, Gandhi and Jinnah.
1942 July To 1946 March	As member of the Governor-general's Executive Council he secured adequate funds from the Central Government for the education of the Scheduled Castes and also reservation of posts in the Central and Provincial Government services for them.
1945 July	Founded the People's Education Society which started a number of colleges in the Bombay presidency for Scheduled Caste students
1946	Wrote who were the shudras and how they came to be the fourth Varna in the Indo – Aryan Society. ?
1946-47	Nominated by the Congress to the Constituent Assembly .He also joined the Nehru Cabinet as Law Minister .He was Chairman of the Drafting Committee to frame the Constitution of India and piloted the Bill successfully. His draft of the Hindu Code Bill earned him the title of " Modern Manu" The Bill, however, was opposed in camera by some of the Cabinet Ministers.
1951 Sept.	Resigned from the Cabinet.
1952 Feb.	Lost his election to the Parliament
1952 May	Nominated by the Bombay Legislature to the Council of States.
1953	Lost second election to the Parliament.
1955	Founded Bharatiya Buddha Mahasabha for the spread of Buddhism in India
1955	Wrote Thoughts on Linguistic States.
1956-Oct.14	Embraced Buddhism at a historic ceremony in Nagpur
1956 Des. 6	Breathed his last in Delhi.
1957	A Posthumous publication -The Buddha and His Dhamma.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE REFERENCES

1.	W. & S.	-	Dr. Babasahab Ambedkar Writings & Speeches
2.	S. M.	-	Source material on Dr. Babasahab Ambedkar and the movement of Untouchables .
3.	L. & M.	-	Dr. Ambedkar - life and Mission
4.	C. S.	-	Dr. Ambedkar –A critical study .
5.	N. M.	-	Dr. Ambedkar's role in National Movement
6.	A. & B.	-	Dr. Ambedkar and Buddhism.
7.	A & C	-	Dr. Ambedkar and Indian Constitution
8.	R. & R.	-	Reminiscences and Remembrances of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar
9.	L. F.Y.	-	Last few years of Dr. Ambedkar
10.	Diatribe	-	Reply to Shourie ' s Diatribe against Dr. Ambedkar

Contents

1. PREFACE 6
2. PUBLISHER'S NOTE 7
3. EDITORIAL 8
4. PROPHESY OF RAJARSHI CHHATRAPATI SAHU 10
5. GREATFUL APPRECIATION 11
6. NO ONE COULD EQUAL DR. AMBEDKAR IN HIS CAREER 12
7. ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE REFERENCES 15

PART - I - SOCIAL

1. THOUGHTS 21
2. PHILOSOPHY 21
3. IDEALS 22
4. CULTURE 22
5. CIVILIZATION 22
6. NON-VIOLENCE 23
7. JOURNALISM AND INDIAN PRESS 23
8. INDIAN CENSUS 24
9. INTELLECTUAL CLASS 25
10. BIRTH CONTROL 25
11. EDUCATION 26
12. HISTORY 28
13. ARYANS; NON-ARYANS, DASYUS 33
14. SOCIETY 40
15. THE HINDU 43
16. HINDU SOCIETY 48
17. HINDU CIVILIZATION 50
18. THE HINDU SOCIAL ORDER 52
19. CHATURVARNA 58
20. TRANSFORMATION OF VARNA INTO CASTE 61
21. CASTE AND CASTE SYSTEM 64
22. BRAHMINS 72
23. SHUDRAS 78
24. UNTOUCHABLES 80
25. UNTOUCHABILITY 83
26. BRAHMINISM 88
27. MAHAD SATYAGRAHA 91
28. KALARAM TEMPLE SATYAGRAHA 93
29. SOCIAL REVOLUTION 94
30. THE BUDDHA 98
31. MANU 108
32. SAINTS 110
33. GREAT MAN AND HERO WORSHIP 111
34. MAHATMA JYOTIBA PHULE 112
35. LOKMANYA TILAK 112
36. RAJARSHI CHHATRAPATI SHAHU 112
37. MAHATMA GANDHI 112
38. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU 116

39. Dr. AMBEDKAR ABOUT HIMSELF 117
40. NATIONALISTS AND PATRIOTS 120

PART - II - POLITICAL

1. NATION, NATIONALITY AND NATIONALISM 121
2. NATIONAL UNITY 123
3. RIGHTS 124
4. FRANCHISE 125
5. FRATERNITY 125
6. DEMOCRACY IN INDIA AND ITS FUTURE 126
7. INDIAN CONSTITUTION AND ITS SALIENT FEATURE 145
8. POLITICS, POLITICAL PARTY AND POLITICAL POWER 166
9. PARLIAMENT 173
10. LAW 177
11. GOVERNMENT 178
12. COMMUNAL AWARD 180
13. POONA PACT 184
14. SEPARATE V/S JOINT ELECTORATES 187
15. RESERVATION 188
16. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNTOUCHABLES AND CONGRESS 193
17. LINGUISTIC PROVINCES 195
18. PAKISTAN OR THE PARTITION OF INDIA 198
19. PROBLEM OF KASHMIR 202
20. FOREIGN POLICY 203
21. THE HINDU CODE BILL 205
22. COMMON CIVIL CODE FOR ALL COMMUNITIES 209
23. LABOUR AND TRADE UNION 209
24. THE NEED FOR A SECOND CAPITAL 212
25. COMMUNISM 213
26. SOCIALISM 214
27. GANDHISM 215
28. COMMUNALISM 217

Part - III - RELIGION

1. RELIGION 219
2. DHAMMA 222
3. RELIGION AND DHAMMA-A COMPARISION 226
4. BUDDHISM 228
5. CONVERSION TO BUDDHISM 236
6. REVIVAL OF BUDDHISM IN INDIA 248
7. BUDDHIST BHIKKHU SANGHA 253
8. BUDDHIST LITERATURES 255
9. BUDDHISM AND HINDUISM - A COMPARISION 257
10. HINDUISM 257
11. BRAHMANIC LITERATURE 259

PART - IV - ECONOMIC

1. LITERATURE ON THE SCIENCE OF ECONOMIC 269
2. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE 269

3. TAXATION POLICY 269
4. LAND REVENUE 270
5. PROHIBITION 270
6. AGRICULTURE 271
7. STATE SOCIALISM 272
8. INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT 275

PART - V - HIS STATEMENTS, MESSAGE, ADVISE, WARNINGS

1. HIS PROPHETIC STATEMENTS. 277
2. HIS PATRIOTIC STATEMENTS/SAYINGS 278
3. HIS MESSAGE 281
4. HIS ADVISE 282
5. HIS WARNINGS 292

PART - VI - REMINISCENCES DRAWN BY DR. AMBEDKAR IN HIS ONE HANDWRITING

1. WAITING FOR A VISA 297
2. UNTOUCHABLES AND HINDU CARTMAN 297
3. THE UNTOUCHABLES AND HINDU TONGAWALLA 301
4. THE UNTOUCHABLE AND THE PARSIS 303
5. THE UNTOUCHABLES AND MOHAMMEDAN 307

PART - VII - AIMS AND OBJECTS OF INSTITUTION/ORGANISATIONS ESTABLISHED BY DR. AMBEDKAR

1. BAHISHKRIT HITKARINI SABHA 309
2. THE ALL INDIA SCHEDULED CASTES FEDRATION 309
3. PEOPLE'S EDUCATION SOCIETY 309
4. THE BUDDHIST SOCIETY OF INDIA 310
5. THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OF INDIA 311
6. ALL INDIA SCHEDULED CASTES STUDENTS FEDERATION 312
7. THE SAMTA SAINIK DAL 312

PART - VIII - ANNEXURES

1. SOME EXCERPTS / STATEMENTS EULOGISING THE WORK OF DR. AMBEDKAR AS THE FATHER OF INDIAN CONSTITUTION 315
2. THE BOOKS WRITTEN BY DR. AMBEDKAR AND SOME OPINIONS THEREON 328
3. SOME THOUGHTS OF GREAT MEN....DR. AMBEDKAR 333
4. TRIBUTE TO DR. AMBEDKAR 339
5. BIBLIOGRAPHY 343

1. THOUGHTS

The views of a man, who has been no tool of power.

"these views are the views of a man, who has been no tool of power, no flatterer of greatness. They come from one almost the whole of whose public exertion has been one continuous struggle for liberty for the poor and for the oppressed and whose only reward has been a continuous shower of calumny and abuse from national Journals and national leaders, for no other reasons except that I refuse to join with them in performing the miracle. I will not say trick-of liberating the oppressed with the gold of the tyrant and raising the poor with the cash of the rich."

* W. & S. Vol. 1-p-80

An idea needs propagation as plant needs watering

" Mazzini once said "You may kill men, you cannot kill a great idea." To me it appears to be a most mistaken view. Men are mortal. So are ideas. It is wrong to hold that an idea will take roots pro-prio-vigore. An idea needs propagation as much as a plant needs watering ".

* W. & S. Vol. 1-p-239

2. PHILOSOPHY

"Every man" should have a philosophy of life, for everyone must have a standard by which to measure his conduct. And philosophy is nothing but a standard by which to measure".

* L. & M. — p-458

My philosophy has roots in religion

" Positively, my Social Philosophy may be said to be enshrined in three words: Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. Let no one, however, say that I have borrowed my philosophy from the French-Revolution. I have not. My philosophy has roots in religion and not in political science. I have derived them from the teaching of my Master, the Buddha. In his philosophy, liberty and equality had a place but unlimited liberty destroyed equality, and absolute equality left no room for liberty. In His Philosophy, law had a place only as a safeguard against the breaches of liberty and equality; but he did not believe that law can be a guarantee for breaches of liberty or equality. He gave the highest place to fraternity as the only real safeguard against the denial of liberty or equality or fraternity which was another name for brotherhood or humanity, which was again another name for religion,"

* W. & S. Vol. 17(III)-p-503

" Philosophy is no purely theoretic matter. It has practical potentialities. Philosophy has its roots in the problems of life and whatever theories philosophy propounds must return to society as instruments of religion-constructing society."

* W. & S. Vol. 4-p-286

3. IDEALS

" An ideal must be practical and must be shown to be practicable. Then and then only people strive after it and try to realize it."

* W. & S. Vol. 11-p-434

" Ideals as norms are good and are necessary. Neither a society nor an individual can do without a norm, but a norm must change with changes in time and circumstances. No norm can be permanently fixed. There must always be room for revaluation of the values of our norm. The possibilities of revaluing values remain open only when the institution is not invested with sacredness. Sacredness prevents revaluation of its values. Once sacred, always sacred."

* W. & S. Vol. 7-p-31

To idealize the real is a very selfish thing

" To idealize the real, which more often than not is full of inequities, is a very selfish thing to do. Only when a person finds a personal advantage in things, as they are that he tries to idealize the real. To proceed to make such an ideal real is nothing short of criminal. It means perpetuating inequity on the ground that whatever is once settled is settled for all times. Such a view is opposed to all morality. No society with a social conscience has ever accepted it. On the contrary, whatever progress in improving the terms of associated life between individuals and classes has been made in the course of history, is due entirely to the recognition of the ethical doctrine that what is wrongly settled is never settled and must be resettled."

* W. & S. Vol. 7-p-32

4. CULTURE

What divides the brute from man is culture

" Man occupies the highest place in the scheme of animal existence. The ultimate goal of brute's life is reached once his physical appetites are satisfied. The goal of man's life is not reached unless and until he has fully cultivated his mind. In short, what divides the brute from man is culture. That being so the aim of human society must be to enable every person to lead a life of culture which means the cultivation of mind as distinguished from the satisfaction of mere physical wants. A life of culture can be made possible where there is sufficient leisure for a man to devote himself to a life of culture".

* L & M -p-391

5. CIVILIZATION

" Civilization is indeed no easy gain. But civilization is a very vital thing, not for one generation but also for the next. The civilization of one generation, when inherited becomes the equipment of the next. This social heritage is absolutely essential for each generation. All progress will die out if this social heritage is destroyed."

* W. & S. Vol. 5-p-135

6. NON-VIOLENCE

"...the root of evil is not in the use of force but in misuse of victory."

* L & M -p-332

The principal element in the doctrine of Ahimsa

"I have love for the principle of non-violence, but I differentiated non-violence from abject surrender. I told the volunteers that it did not befit a man to live a life of surrender, servitude and helplessness. I declared that I believed with the saint Tukaram that destruction of the wicked was also a form of non-violence. Although love and kindness towards all creatures was a part of the principle of non-violence, to destroy all evil doers was the principal element in the doctrine of ahimsa. Without that, ahimsa was an empty shell, beatitude. Shakti (strength) and Shila (Character) should be their ideal."

* L. & M. — p-353

" I am myself a believer in Ahimsa . But I make a distinction between Ahimsa and meekness . Meekness is weakness and weakness which is voluntarily imposed upon itself is not a virtue ."

* W&S-Vol-17(III)-P-289

" Peace obtained by surrender to forces of violence was no peace. It was an act of suicide and a sacrifice of all that was noble and necessary for maintaining a worthy human life to the forces of savagery and barbarism. "War cannot be abolished," "by merely refusing to fight when attacked. To abolish war, you must win war and establish a just peace."

* L. & M. — p-356

7. JOURNALISM AND INDIAN PRESS

Journalism has now became a trade

" Journalism in India was once a profession. It has now become a trade. It has no more moral function than the manufacture of soap. It does not regard itself as the responsible adviser of the public. To give the news uncoloured by any motive, to present a certain view of public policy which it believes to be for the good of the community, to correct and chastise without fear all those, no matter how high, who have chosen a wrong or a barren path is not regarded by journalism in India its first or foremost duty. To accept a hero and worship him has become its principal duty. Under it, news gives place to sensation, reasoned opinion to unreasoning passion, appeal to the minds of responsible people to appeal to the emotions of the irresponsible. Lord Salisbury spoke of the Northcliff journalism as written by office - boys for office - boys . Indian journalism is all that plus something more. It is written by drum-boys to glorify their heroes. Never has the interest of country has been sacrificed so senselessly for the propagation of hero worship. Never has hero worship become so blind as we see it in India today."

* W. & S. Vol. 1-p-227

" A newspaper in a modern democratic system is the fundamental basis of good government. It is the one means of educating people."

* W. & S. Vol. 17(III)-p-348

Our views are systematically suppressed

"We have no press. The cruelest of tyrannies and oppressions, to which our people are subjected, day in and day out all over India, are never reported by the Press. Even our views on social and political questions are systematically suppressed by an organized conspiracy on the part of the Press."

* W. & S. Vol. 1-p-357

".....the Associated Press in India, which is the main news distributing agency in India is entirely drawn from the Madras Brahmins-Indeed the whole of the Press in India, is in their hands and they for well-known reasons, are entirely Pro-Congress and will not allow any news hostile to the Congress to get publicity."

* W. & S. Vol. 9-p-440

"I do not know that what sort of publicity will be given to my speech by the news papers of our country. I don't care for publicity very much but these news paper men have been after me for the past fourty years. They have maligned me. They have misrepresented my views. They have mutilated my speeches. I wish these newspapermen could learn to behave like mature people, and to think and write in a responsible and truthful manner so that the world may know the truth and form a better impression about them."

(15th Oct. 1956, Nagpur)

* L.F.Y. -P- 229

8. INDIAN CENSUS

" The Census of India has over a number of decades ceased to be an operation in demography. It has become a political affair. Every community seems to be attempting to artificially argument its numbers at the cost of some other community for the sake of capturing greater and greater degree of political power in its own hands. The Scheduled Castes seem to have been made a common victim for the satisfaction of the combined greed of the other communities who through their propagandists or enumerators are able to control the operations and the results of the Census."

* W. & S. - Vol- 17(I)- P- 365

" Caste is still the foundation of the Indian social fabric and the record of caste is still the best guide to the changes in the various social strata in the Indian society. Every Hindu (Using the term in its most elastic sense) is born into a caste and his caste determines his religious, social, economic and domestic life from the cradle to the grave....

Whatever view may be taken of caste as a national and social

institution it is useless to ignore it, and so long as caste contains to be used as one of the distinguishing features of an individual's official and social identity it cannot be claimed that a decinnial enumeration helps to perpetuate an undesirable institution."

(An argument of Census Commisioner1901 in favour of enumeration by castes-reproduced by Dr. Ambedkar)

* W. & S. - Vol- 5- P- 6-7

9. INTELLECTUAL CLASS

Destiny of a country depends upon its intellectual class

".....in every country the intellectual class is the most influential class, if not the governing class. The intellectual class is the class which can foresee, it is the class which can advise and give lead. In no country does the mass of the people live the life of intelligent thought and action. It is largely imitative and follows the intellectual class. There is no exaggeration in saying that the entire destiny of a country depends upon its intellectual class. If the intellectual class is honest, independent and disinterested it can be trusted to take the initiative and give a proper lead when a crisis arises. It is true that the intellect by itself is no virtue. It is only a means and the use of means depends upon the ends, which an intellectual person pursues. An intellectual man can be a good man but he can easily be a rogue. Similarly an intellectual class may be a band of high souled persons, ready to help, ready to emancipate erring humanity or it may easily be a gang of crooks or a body of advocates of a narrow clique from which it draws its support. You may think it a pity that the intellectual class in India is simply another name for the Brahmin caste."

* W. & S. Vol. 1-p-71

" The Bhikshus formed an intellectual class. The Brahmins formed on the other hand merely an educated class. There is a great difference between an intellectual class and an educated class. An intellectual class has no limitations arising out of affiliations to any class or to any interest. An educated class on the other hand is not an intellectual class although it has cultivated its intellect. The reason is that its range of vision and its sympathy to a new ideology is circumscribed by its being identified with the interest of the class with which it is affiliated."

* W. & S. Vol. 3-p-322

10. BIRTH CONTROL

" Although it may be admitted that self -rule may effect some betterment of the lot of our masses, no lasting and appreciable improvement in the economic condition of our people can be hoped for unless the growth of our population is deliberately checked. As has been

already explained, with every opportunity afforded for its expansion, population begins to grow rapidly and thus nullifies all the advantages secured through great efforts. Hence, experience has made many scientists to hold the view that unless precaution is taken, to regulate population growth by means of birth-control along with efforts to improve the economic condition of the people, there cannot be any substantial and permanent rise in the standard of life of the masses."

(Bombay Assembly__1938)

* W. & S. Vol. 2-p-274

11. EDUCATION

Purpose

".....Education, the purpose of which is to moralize and socialize the people."

* W. & S. Vol..2-p-39

Aim and functions of University Education

".....the aim and functions of University Education should be to see that the teaching carried on there is suited to adults; that it is scientific, detached and impartial in character; that it aims not so much at fillings the mind of the student with fact or theories as at calling forth his own individuality, and stimulating him to mental effort; that it accustoms him to the critical study of the leading authorities, with perhaps, occassional reference to first hand sources of information, and that it implants in his mind a standard of throughness, and gives him a sense of the difficulty as well as the value of reaching at truth."

* W. & S. Vol. 2-p-296

Students should learn

" The student so trained should learn to distinguish between what may fairly be called matter of fact and what is certainly mere matter of opinion. He should be accustomed to distinguish issues, and to look at separate questions each on its own merits and without an eye to their bearings on some cherished theory. He should learn to state fairly, and even sympathetically the position of those to whose practical conclusions he is most stoutly opposed. He should become able to examine a suggested idea, and see what comes of it, before accepting it or rejecting it . Without necessarily becoming an original student he should gain an insight into the conditions under which original research is carried on. He should be able to weigh evidence, to follow and criticize argument and put his own value on authorities."

* W. & S. Vol. 2-p-296,297

Character is more important than education

".....that education was a sword and being a double edged weapon, was dangerous to wield. An educated man without character and humility

was more dangerous than a beast. If his education was detrimental to the welfare of the poor, the educated man was a curse to society. Fie upon such an educated man. Character is more important than education."

* L. & M. — P- 305

Medium of instruction

"Spread of education should be a proper function of the University. But this cannot be achieved unless the University adopts vernacular as the medium of instruction, which in the present circumstances is a far cry...

.....I hold a very strong affirmative view on the use of vernacular as a medium of instruction. But I feel that the problem cannot be solved unless Indian public opinion decides which vernacular it selects for common intercourse."

* W. & S. Vol. 2-p-312

Proposal for study of law immediately after the matriculation

" I see three distinct advantages in my proposal of allowing a student to commence the study of law immediately after the matriculation.

1.) The first advantages to which I attach the greatest value is this. At present, a student who joins the law course has not the fixed objective of studying law for the purpose of qualifying himself for the profession. He comes there merely for the purpose of adding one more string to his bow. It is his last refuge to which he may or may not go for shelter. Probably, he comes to the Law College because he is unemployed and does not know for the moment what to do. Due to this unsteadiness in purpose, there is no seriousness in the law student and that is why his study of law is so haphazard. It, is therefore, necessary to compel him to stick to it. A boy, who is a B.A. cannot have this fixity of purpose, because as a B.A. he has other opportunities in life open to him. My scheme has the advantage of compelling the boy to make his choice at the earliest stage at which every one in this country is required to make a choice of his career.

2.) The second advantage of my proposal lies in its combination of economy and efficiency. A boy will be able to complete his legal education within 4 years. This is a saving of two years over the present system. The alternative suggestion also requires six years. From the standpoint of poorer students, it has no advantage over the present system. From the standpoint of training, I venture to say that the existing system as well as the alternative suggested by the committee suffer in comparison with mine. The existing system allows only two years for the study, which is undoubtedly very inadequate. The alternative scheme allots three years. But my scheme provides four full years. From the standpoint of efficiency, it is, therefore, superior to both.

3.) The third advantage is that it will introduce a process of selection. Those who have not the definite object of entering the profession will be weeded out. Only those with the definite object will join. It will, thus, held to prevent the overcrowding of the profession."

*

W. & S. Vol. 17(II)-p-12-13

Higher education the penacea of our social troubles

"Coming as I do form the lowest order of the Hindu Society, I know what is the value of education. The problem of raising the lower order is deemed to be economic. This is a great mistake. The problem of raising the lower order in India is not to feed them, to cloth them and to make them serve the higher classes as the ancient ideal of this country. The problem of the lower order is to remove from them that inferiority complex which has stunted their growth and made them slaves to others, to create in them the consciousness of the significance of their lives for themselves and for the country, of which they have been cruelly robbed by the existing social order. Nothing can achieve this purpose except this spread of higher education this in my opinion the penacea of our social troubles."

* L.F.Y. - P - 69

".....though education is being given on a larger scale, it is not given to the right strata of Indian Society. If you give education to that strata of Indian Society which has a vested interest in maintaining the Caste System for the advantages it gives them, then the Caste System will be strengthened. On the other hand, if you give education to the lowest strata of Indian Society, which is interested, in blowing up the Caste System, the Caste System will be blown up. At the moment the indiscriminate help given to education by the Indian Government and American Foundation is going to strengthen the Caste System. To make rich richer and poor poorer is not the way to abolish poverty. The same is true of using education as a means to end the Caste System. To give education to those who want to

keep up the Caste System is not to improve the prospect of Democracy in India but to put our Democracy in India in greater jeopardy."

* W. & S. Vol. 17(III)-p-522-523

12. HISTORY

Defined

... history is the biography of great man.

* W. & S. - Vol. -I - p - 212

Man is a factor

" The crisis can be met by the discovery of a new way. Where there is

no new way found, society goes under. Time may suggest possible new ways. But to step on the right one is not the work of Time. It is the work of man. Man therefore is a factor in the making of history and that environmental forces whether impersonal or social if they are the first are not the last things."

* W. & S. - Vol. -I - p - 213

What historian ought to be?

".....an historian ought to be exact, sincere and impartial, free from passion, unbiased by interest, fear, resentment or affection; and faithful to the truth, which is the mother of history; the preserver of great actions, the enemy of oblivion, the witness of the past, the director of the future. In short he must have an open mind, though it may not be an empty mind, and readiness to examine all evidence even though it be spurious."

* W. & S. - Vol. -7- p - 17

Some times history warns

" History is not to be studied merely with a view to know how well to imitate the mistakes of other countries. We study history with a view to know the errors people have made and how they could be avoided. History is not always an example. More often it is a warning."

* W. & S. - Vol. -10 - p -295-296

" History shows that people with civilization but no means of defence are not able to withstand the attacks of the barbarians."

* W. & S. - Vol. -7 - p -275

ANCIENT HISTORY

Buddhist literature reveals India's real history

" Much of the ancient history of India is no history at all. Not that ancient India has no history. It has plenty of it, but it has lost its character. It has been made mythology to amuse women and children. This seems to have been done deliberately by the Brahminical writers...

...Ancient Indian history must be exhumed. Without its exhumation Ancient India will go without history. Fortunately with the help of the Buddhist literature, Ancient Indian history can be dug out of the debris which the Brahmin writers have heaped. upon in a fit of madness."

* W. & S. - Vol. -3 - p - 151-152

Struggle between Buddhism and Brahminism

" In another sense India is a land of religions. Nowhere else is the texture of life so much impregnated with religious convictions and practices.

These observations contain profound truth. He would have given utterance to truth far more profound and arresting if he had said that India

is a land of warring religions. For indeed there is no country in which religion has played so great a part in its history as it has in the history of India. The history of India is nothing but a history of a mortal conflict between Buddhism and Brahminism. So neglected is this truth that no one will be found to give it his ready acceptance. Indeed there may not be wanting persons who would repudiate any such suggestion.

Let me therefore briefly recount the salient facts of Indian history. For it is important that everyone who was able to understand the history of India must know that it is nothing but the history of the struggle for supremacy between Brahminism and Buddhism.

The history of India is said to begin with the Aryans, who invaded India, made it their home and established their culture. Whatever may be the virtues of the Aryans, their culture, their religion and their social system, we know very little about their political history. Indeed notwithstanding the superiority that is claimed for the Aryans as against the Non- Aryans, the Aryans have left very little their political achievements for history to speak of. The political history of India begins with the rise of a Non-Aryan people called Nagas, who were a powerful people, whom the Aryans were unable to conquer, with whom the Aryans had to make peace and whom the Aryans were compelled to recognize as their equals. **Whatever fame and glory India achieved in ancient times in the political field, the credit for it goes entirely to the Non-Aryans Nagas. It is they who made India great and glorious in the annals of the world."**

* W. & S. - Vol. -3- p - 267

The landmark

"The first landmark in India's political history is the emergence of the Kingdom of Magadha in Bihar in the year 642 B.C. The founder of this Kingdom of Magadha is known by the name of Sisunag and belonged to the non-Aryan race of the Nagas.

From the small beginning made by Sisunag, this Kingdom of Magadha grew in its extent under the capable rulers of this Sisunag dynasty. Under Bimbisara the fifth ruler of this dynasty the Kingdom grew into an Empire and came to be known as the Empire of Magadha. The Sisunag dynasty continued to rule the Kingdom till 413 B.C. In that year the reigning Emperor of the Sisunag dynasty Mahananda was killed by an adventurer called Nanda. Nanda userped the throne of Magadha and founded the Nanda dynasty. This Nanda Dynasty ruled over the Empire of Magadha upto 322 B.C. The last Nanda king was deposed by Chandragupta who founded the Maurya Dynasty. Chandragupta was related to the family of the last ruling Emperor of the Sisunag dynasty so that it may be said that the revolution effected by Chandragupta was really a restoration of the Naga Empire of Magadha.

The Mauryas by their conquests enormously extended the boundries

of this Empire of Magadha, which they inherited. So vast became the growth of this Empire under Ashoka, the Empire began to be known by another name. It was called the Maurya Empire or the Empire of Ashoka."

* W. & S. - Vol. -3 - p - 267-268

"There is only one period in Indian history, which is a period of freedom, greatness and glory. That is the period of the Maurya Empire. At all other times the country suffered from defeat and darkness. But the Maurya period was a period when Chaturvarna completely annihilated, when the Shudras, who constituted the mass of the people came into their own and became the rulers of the country. The period of defeat and darkness is the period when Chaturvarna flourished to the damnation of the greater part of the people of the country."

* W. & S. - Vol. -3 - p - 71

There have been three culture in India

"India's history is due to the prevalence of some very wrong notions. It has been commonly supposed that the culture of India has been one and the same all throughout history; that Brahminism, Buddhism, Jainism are simply different phases and that there has never been any fundamental antagonism between them. Secondly, it has been assumed that whatever conflicts have taken place in Indian politics were purely political and dynastic and that they had no social and spiritual significance. It is because of these wrong notions that Indian history has become a purely mechanical thing, a record of one dynasty succeeding another and one ruler succeeding another ruler. A corrective to such an attitude and to such a method of writing history lies in recognition of two facts, which are indisputable.

In the first place it must be recognized that there has never been such as a common Indian culture, that historically there have been three India, Brahmanic India, Buddhist India and Hindu India, each with its own culture. Secondly, it must be recognized that the history of India before the Muslim invasions is the history of a mortal conflict between the Brahminism and Buddhism. Any one who does not recognize these two facts will never be able to write a true history of India, a history which will disclose the meaning and purpose running through it. It is a corrective to Indian history written as it is and to disclose the meaning and purposes running through it that I was obliged to re-cast the history of the Brahmanic invasions of Buddhist India and the political triumph of Brahminism over Buddhism."

* W. & S. - Vol. -3 - p - 275

THE BIRTH OF COUNTER-REVOLUTION

I. Regicide of Buddhist king

"The murder of Brihadratha Maurya by Pushyamitra has unfortunately passed unnoticed. At any rate it has not received the

attention it deserves. It is treated by historians as an ordinary incident between two individuals as though its origin lay in some personal quarrel between the two. Having regard to its consequences it was an epoc-hmaking event. Its significance cannot be measured by treating it as a change of dynasty the Sungas succeeding the Mauryas. It was a political revolution as great as the French Revolution, If not greater. It was a revolution a bloody revolution- engineered by the Brahmins to over throw the rule of the Buddhist kings."

* W. & S. - Vol. -7 - p - 373

II. Period

"Brahmanic revolutions by Pushyamitra took place in 185 B.C. there remains no doubt that the code known as Manu Smriti was promulgated by Pushyamitra as embodying the principles of Brahmanic Revolution against the Buddhist State of the Mauryas."

* W. & S. - Vol. -3 - p - 271

III. Purpose

"Pushyamitra's Brahmanic Revolution was undertaken for the purpose of restoring the ancient social system of Chaturvarna which under the Buddhist regime was put into the melting pot."

* W. & S. - Vol. -3 - p - 291

".....no country in the ancient past had such a tremendous and dynamic political life as the ancient Indians. India had been the land of revolutions in camparison to which the French Revolution would be only a "Bagatelle" and nothing more. The fundamental fact, was that there had been in ancient India a great struggle between Buddhism, which had ushered in a revolution, and Brahmanism, which had launched a counter-revolution."

* L & M - p - 365-366

Two Bharatas.

"There are two Bharats quite distinct from each other. One tribe of the Bharatas are the Bhartas of the Rig Veda, who were descended from Manu and to whom Sudas belonged. The other tribe of Bhartas are the Daushyanti Bharatas. What is more important is that if India has been named Bharata Bhumi it is after the Bharatas of the Rig-Veda and not after the Daushyanti Bharatas."

* W. & S. - Vol. -7 - p - 129

The Mohammedan rulers

"It is mistake to suppose that the Mussalman sovereigns of India were barbarous and despots. On the other hand majority of them were men of extraordinary character. Mohammad of Guzni," showed so much munificence, to individuals of eminence that his capital exhibited a greater

assemblage of literary genius than any other monarch in Asia has ever been able to produce."

* W. & S. - Vol. -12- p - 55

" Baber, the founder of Moghul dynasty in India found the country in a prosperous condition and was surprised at the immense population and the innumerable artisans everywhere. He was a benevolent ruler and public works marked his statesmanship. Shershah who temporarily wrested the throne from the Moghul was, excepting Akbar, the greatest of Mohammedan rulers and like Baber executed many public works.

Akbar's benevolent administration is too well known to need any mention."

* W. & S. - Vol. -12 - p - 56

British conquered India between 1757 and 1818

When was India conquered? India was conquered between 1757 and 1818.

" In the year 1757, there was fought a battle between the forces of the East India company and the Army of Siraj-ud-Daulah, the Nawab of Bengal. The British forces were victorious. It is known in history as the battle of Plassey and it is as a result of this battle that the British for the first time made territorial conquest in India. The last battle, which completed the territorial conquest, was fought in 1818. It is known as the battle of Koregaon. This was the battle which destroyed the Maratha Empire and established in its place the British Empire in India. Thus the conquest of India by the British took place during 1757 and 1818."

* W. & S. - Vol. -12 - p - 83

13. ARYANS; NON-ARYANS, DASYUS DASAS; NAGAS AND DRAVIDIANS

THE ARYANS

A collection of people-not a race

. "The Aryans were not a race. The Aryans were a collection of people. The cement that held them together was their interest in the maintenance of a type of culture called Aryan culture. Any one who accepted the Aryan culture was an Aryan. Not being a race there was no fixed type of colour and physiognomy which could be called Aryan. There were no dark and flat nose people for the Aryans to distinguish themselves from. The whole of this edifice of colour prejudice as being factors for division and antagonism between Aryans and the Dasyus is based upon a wrong meaning given to the two words varnas and Anas which are used with reference to the Dasyus."

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 419

" The conclusion that follows from the examination of the western theory may now be summarised. They are: -

1. The Vedas do not know any such race as the Aryan race.
2. There is no evidence in the Vedas of any invasion of India by the Aryan race and its having conquered the Dasas and Dasyus supposed to be natives of India.
3. There is no evidence to show that the distinction between Aryans, Dasas and Dasyus was a racial distinction.
4. The Vedas do not support the contention that the Aryas were different in colour from the Dasa and Dasyus."

* W. & S. - Vol- 7- P- 85

The Arctic home theory

"The horse is a favourite animal of the Vedic Aryans. It was most intimately connected with their life and their religion. That the queens vied with one another to copulate with the horse in the Ashvamedha Yajna shows what place the horse had acquired in the life of the Vedic Aryans. Question is: **was the horse to be found in the Arctic region? If the answer is in the negative, the Arctic home theory becomes very precarious."**

* W. & S. - Vol- 7- P- 74

India the home of the Aryans

"It is erroneous to believe that the Shudras were conquered by the Aryan invaders. In the first place **the story that the Aryans came from outside India and invaded the natives has no evidence to support it. There is a large body of evidence that India is the home of the Aryans.** In the second place there is no evidence anywhere of any warfare having taken place between Aryans and Dasyus but the Dasyus have nothing to do with the Shudras. In the third place it is difficult to believe that the Aryans were a powerful people capable of much military prowess. Any one who reads the history of the Aryans in India in their relation to the Devas will be reminded of the relationship that subsisted between the viellens and their lords during the feudal times. The Devas were the feudal lords and the Aryans were the villeins. The innumerable sacrifices, which the Aryans performed, have the look of fudal dues paid to the Deva. This servility of the Aryans to the Devas was due to the fact that without the help and the protection of the Devas they could not withstand the assaults of the Asuras. It is too much to presume that so effete a people could have conquered the Shudras. Lastly there was no necessity to conquer the Shudra. They were Aryans in the only sense in which the word Aryan is used, namely, the upholders of the Aryans culture."

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 420

Two categories of Aryans

"according to the evidence of the Rig Veda, there are two categories of Aryans. the Vedic and the non- Vedic. Given this fact, it would be quite easy for an Arya of one class to speak of an Arya of another class, as though the

two were separate and opposed. Interpreted in this way, the above statements, in which Shudras are set against the Aryans, do not mean that they were not Aryas. They were Aryas of a different sect or class."

* W. & S. - Vol- 7- P- 107

"..... the Aryans it is beyond dispute that they were not a single homogeneous people. That they were divided into two sections is beyond dispute. It is also beyond dispute that the two had different cultures. One of them may be called Rig Vedic Aryans and the other the Atharva Vedic Aryans. Their cultural cleavage appears to be complete. The Rig Vedic Aryans believed in Yajna. The Atharva Vedic Aryans believed the Magis. Their mythologies were different. The Rig Vedic Aryans believed in the Deluge and the creation of their race from Manu. The Atharva Vedic Aryans did not believe in deluge but believed in the creation of their race from Brahma or Prajapati. Their literary developments also lay along different paths. The Rig Vedic Aryans produced Brahmanas, Sutras and Aranyakas. The Atharva Vedic Aryans produced the Upanishads. Their cultural conflict was so great that the Rig Vedic Aryans would not for a long time admit the sanctity of the Atharvaveda nor of the Upanishads and when they did recognise it they called it Vedanta which contrary to the current meaning of the word namely, essence of the Vedas originally meant something outside the boundary of the Vedas and, therefore, not so sacred as the Vedas and regarded its study as Anuloma. Whether these two sections of Aryans were two different races we do not know. We do not know whether the word Aryan is a term indicative of race. Historians have therefore made a mistake in proceeding on the assumption that the Aryans were a separate race."

* W. & S. - Vol- 7- P- 291

"..... there is a solid foundation in antropometry and history, in support of the Rig Veda that there were in India two Aryan races and not one."

* W. & S. - Vol- 7- P- 99

Aryan's religion

"The religion of the Vedic Aryans was full of barbaric and obscene observances. Human sacrifice formed a part of their religion and was called Naramedhayagna. Most elaborate descriptions of the rite are found in the Yajur- Veda Samhita. Yajur- Veda Brahmans, the Sankhyana and Vaitana Sutras. The worship of the genitals or what is called Phallus worship was quite prevalent among the ancient Aryans. The Cult of the Phallus came to be Known as Skambha and was recognized as part of Aryan religion as may be seen in the hymn in Atharva- Veda X.7. Another instance of obscenity, which disfigured the religion of the Ancient Aryans, is connected with the Ashvemedha Yajna or the horse sacrifice. A necessary part of the Ashvamedha was the introduction of the Sepas (penis) of the Medha (dead horse) into the Yoni (Vagina) of the chief wife of the Yajamana (the sacrificer) accompanied by the recital of long series of Mantras by the Brahmin priests. A mantra in the Vajasaneya Samhita (xxiii. 18) shows

that there used to be a competition among the queens as to who was to receive this high honour of being served by the horse."

* W. & S. - Vol- 4- P- 294-295

Aryan's culture

"The Aryans were a race of gamblers. Gambling was developed to science in very early days of the Aryan Civilization so much so that they had even devised certain technical terms. The Hindus used the words Krita, Treta, Dwapara and Kali as the names of the four Yugas or periods into which historical times are divided. As a matter of fact originally these are the names of the dices used by the Aryans at gambling. The luckiest dice was called Krita and the unluckiest was called Kali. Treta and Dwapara were intermediate between them. Not only was gambling well developed among the ancient Aryans but the stakes were very high. Gambling with high money stakes have been known elsewhere. But they are nothing as compared with those, which are known as to have been offered by the Aryans. Kingdoms and even their wives were offered by them as stakes at gambling. King Naia staked his kingdom and lost it. The Pandavas went much beyond. They not only staked their kingdom they also staked their wife Draupdi and lost both. Among the Aryans gambling was not the game of the rich. It was a vice of the many. So widespread was gambling among the Ancient Aryans that the burden of all the writers of the Dharma Sutras (Shastras?) was to impress upon the King the urgency of controlling it by state Authorities under stringent laws.

The relations of the sexes among the Aryans were of a loose sort. There was a time when they did not know marriage as a permanent tie between a man and a woman. This is evident from the Mahabharata where Kunti the wife of Pandu refers to this in her reply to Pandu's exhortation to go to produce children from some one else. There was a time when the Aryans did not observe the rule of prohibited degrees in their sex relations. There are cases among them of brother cohabiting with sister, son with mother, father with daughter and grand father with grand daughter. There was a communism in women. It was a simple communism where many men shared a woman and no one had a private property in or exclusive right over a woman. In such a communism the woman was called Ganika, belonging to many. There was also a regulated form of communism in women among the Aryans. In this the woman was shared among a group of men but the day of each was fixed and the woman was called Warangana one whose days are fixed. Prostitution flourished and has taken the worst form. Nowhere else have prostitutes consented to submit to sexual intercourse in public. But the practice existed among the ancient Aryans. Bestiality also prevailed among the Ancient Aryans and among those who were guilty of it are to be reckoned some of the most reverend Rishis.

The Ancient Aryans were also a race of drunkards. Wine formed a most essential part of their religion. The Vedic Gods drank wine. The divine wine was called Soma. Since the Gods of the Aryans drank wine the Aryans

had no scruples in the matter of drinking. Indeed to drink it was a part of an Aryan's religious duty. There were so many Soma sacrifices among the Ancient Aryans that there were hardly any days when Soma was not drunk. Soma was restricted to only the three upper classes, namely the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas and the Vaishyas. That does not mean the Shudras were abstainers. Who were denied Soma drank Sura, which was ordinary, unconsecreted wine sold in the market. Not only the male Aryans were addicted to drinking but the females also indulged in drinking. The Kaushitaki Grihya Sutra 1. 11-12 advises that four or eight women who are not widowed after having been regaled with wine and food should be called to dance for four times on the night previous to the wedding ceremony. This habit of drinking intoxicating liquor was not confined to the Non- Brahmin women. Even Brahmin women were addicted to it. That drinking was not regarded as a sin; it was not even a vice; it was quite a respectable practice."

* W. & S. - Vol- 4- P- 108-109

"The ancient Aryan women were sold. The sale of daughters is evidenced by the Arsha form of marriage. According to the technical terms used the father of the boy gave Go- mithuna and took the girl. This is another way of saying that the girl was sold for a Go-Mithuna. Go- Mithuna means one cow and one bull, which was regarded as a reasonable, price of a girl. Not only daughters were sold by their fathers but wives also were sold by their husbands..... It says that the wives of Brahmins should be purchased from their husbands and given to the officiating priest as his fee. It is quite obvious from this that Brahmins freely sold their wives for a consideration.

That the ancient Aryans let their women on rent for cohabitation to others is also a fact. In the Mahabharata there is an account of the life of Madhavi in Adhyayas 103 to 123. According to this account Madhavi was a daughter of King Yayati. Yayati made a gift of her to Galva. Galva who was a Rishi as fee to a priest. Galva rented her out to three king's insuccession but to each for a period necessary to beget a son on her. After the tenancy of the third king terminated Madhavi was surrendered by Galva to his Guru Vishwamitra who made her his wife. Vishwamitra kept her till he begot a son on her and gave her back to Galva. Galva returned her to her father Yayati.

Polygamy and Polyandry were raging in the ancient Aryan society. The fact is so well known that it is unnecessary to record cases, which show its existence. But what is probably not well known is the fact of promiscuity. Promiscuity in matters of sex becomes quite apparent if one were only to examine the rules of Niyoga which the Aryan name for a system under which a woman who is wedded can beget on herself a progeny from another who is not her husband. This system resulted in a complete state of promoiscuity for it was uncontrolled. In the first place, there was no limit to the number of Niyogas open to a woman. Madhuti

had one Niyoga allowed to her. ' Ambika had one actual Niyoga and another proposed. Saradandayani had three. Pandu allowed his wife Kunti four Niyogas. Vyusistasva was permitted to have 7 and Vali is known to have allowed as many as 17 niyogas, 11 on one and 6 on his second wife. Just as there was no limit to the number of Niyogas so also there was no defination of cases in which Niyoga was permissible. Niyoga took place in the lifetime of the husband and even in cases where the husband was not overcome by any congenital incapacity to procreate. The initiative was probably taken by the wife. The choice of a man was left to her. She was free to find out with whom she would unite a Niyoga and how many times, if she choose the same man. The Niyogas were another name for illicit intercourse between men and women, which might last for one night or twelve years or more with the husband a willing and a sleeping partner in this trade of fornication."

* W. & S. - Vol- 4- P- 298,299

"..... the Aryans of the Rig Veda did kill cows for the purposes of food and ate beef is abundantly clear from the Rig Veda itself."

* W. & S. - Vol- 7- P- 324

The Non - Aryans

" The difference between the Aryans and the non- Aryans was cultural and not racial. The cultural difference centered round two points. The Aryans believed in Chaturvarna. The non- Aryans were opposed to it. The Aryans believed in the performance of Yajna as the essence of their religion. The non- Aryans were opposed to Yajna. Examining the story of Daksha's Yajna in the light of these facts it is quite obvious that Shiva was a non- Vedic and a non- Aryan God."

* W. & S. - Vol- 4- P- 163

" By Aryan castes he means the four varnas namely Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra. In other words, Manu regards the system of Chaturvarna to be the essence of Aryanism. By non - Aryan castes he means those communities who do not accept the creed of Chaturvarna and he cites the community called Dasyu as an illustration of those whom he regards as a non- Aryan community."

* W. & S. - Vol- 4- P- 215

" The Aryans were not only converting to their way of life the willing Non- Aryans they were also attempting to make converts from among the unwilling Asuras who were opposed to the Aryans, their cult of sacrifice, their theory of Chaturvarna and even to their Vedas which according to the mythology the Asuras stole away from the Aryas. The story of Vishnu rescuing Prahlad by killing his father the Asura called Hiranya Kashapu on the ground that prahlad was willing to be converted to the Aryan culture while Hiranya Kashapu was opposed to it is an illustration in point. Here are instances of non - Aryans being naturalized and enfranchised."

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 426

The Dasyus

" It is wrong to treat the Dasyus and Shudras as one and the same. As a people they may be the same. But culturally they were quite different. The Dasyus were non- Aryans in the sense they had fallen away and rebelled against the Aryan culture. The Shudras on the other hand were Aryans i.e. they were believers in the Aryan way of life. The Shudra was accepted as an Aryan and as late, as Kautilya's Artha Shastra was addressed an Arya."

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 421

"It is wrong to say that the Dasyus were non- Aryans by race. The Dasyus were not a pre- Aryan race of aboriginal of India. The Dasyus were members of the Aryan community who were deprived of the title of Arya for opposing some belief or cult, which was an essential part of the Aryan culture."

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 420

Dasas, Nagas and Dravidians

"A greater mistake lies in differentiating the Dasas from the Nagas. The Dasas are the same as Nagas. Dasas is merely another name for Nagas. It is not difficult to understand how the Nagas came to be called Dasas in the Vedic literature. Dasa is a sanskritized form of the Indo-Iranian word Dahaka. Dahaka was the name of the King of the Nagas. Consequently, the Aryans called the Nagas after the name of their king Dahaka, which in its Sanskrit form became Dasa a generic name applied to all the Nagas."

* W. & S. - Vol- 7- P- 292

"The word "Dravida" is not an original word. It is the Sanskritized form of the word 'Tamil'. The original word 'Tamil' when imported into Sanskrit became Damita and later Damilla became Dravida. The word Dravida is the name of the language of th e people and does not denote the race of the people. The third thing to remember is that Tamil or Dravida was not merely the language of South India but before the Aryans came it was the language of the whole of India, and was spoken from Kashmere to Cape Camorin....

.... The Nagas in North India gave up Tamil, which was their mother tongue and adopted Sanskrit in its place. The Nagas in South India retained Tamil as their mother tongue and did not adopt Sanskrit the language of the Ayans. If this difference is borne in mind it will help to explain why the name Dravida came to be applied only for the people of South India. The necessity for the application of the name Dravida to the Nagas of Northern India had ceased because they had ceased to speak the Dravida language. But so far as the Nagas of South India are concerned not only the priority of calling them Dravida had remained in view of their adherence to the Dravid language but the necessity of calling them Dravida had become

very urgent in view of their being the only people speaking the Dravida language after the Nagas of the North had ceased to use it. This is real reason why the people of South India have come to be called Dravidians.

... the word Dravida for the people of South India must not, therefore, obscure the fact that the Nagas and Dravidas are the one and the same people. They are only two different names for the same people. Nagas was a racial or cultural name and Dravida was their linguistic name.

...the Dasas are the same as the Nagas and the Nagas are the same as the Dravidians. In other words what we can say about the races of India is that there have been at the most only two races in the field, the Aryans and the Nagas."

* W. & S. - Vol- 7- P- 299-300

14. SOCIETY

What does the word 'Society' connote? To put it briefly when we speak of 'Society,' we conceive of it as one by its very nature. The qualities which accompany this unity are praiseworthy community of purpose and desire for welfare, loyalty to public ends and mutuality of sympathy and co-operation.

* W &. S -Vol- 17 (III)- P- 519,520

Essential thing to constitute men into society

" Men do not become a society by living in physical proximity any more than a man ceases to be a member of his society by living so many miles away from other men. Secondly similarity in habits and customs, beliefs and thoughts is not enough to constitute men into society. Things may be passed physically from one to another like bricks. In the same way habits and customs, beliefs and thoughts of one group may be taken over by another group and there may thus appear a similarity between the two. Culture spreads by diffusion and that is why one finds similarity between various primitive tribes in the matter of their habits and customs, beliefs and thoughts, although they did not like in proximity. But no one could say that because there was this similarity the primitive tribes constituted one society. This is because similarly in certain things is not enough to constitute a society. Men constitute a society because they have things, which they possess in common. And the only way by which men can come to possess things in common with one another is by being in communication with one another. This is merely another way of saying that society continues to exist by communication indeed in communication. To make it concrete, it is not enough if men act in a way, which agrees with the acts of others. Parallel activity, even if similar, is not sufficient to bind men into a society. This is proved by the fact that the festivals observed by the different castes amongst the Hindus are the same. Yet these parallel performances of similar festivals by the different castes

have not bound them into one integral whole. For that purpose what is necessary is for a man to share and participate in a common activity so that the same emotions are aroused in him that animate the others. **Making the individual a sharer or partner in the associated activity so that he feels its success as his success, its failure as his failure is the real thing that binds men and makes a society of them."**

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 51

The scheme of the Purusha Sukta is unique

".....the existence of classes is the de facto condition of every society, nevertheless no society has converted this de facto state of affairs into a de-jure connotation of an ideal society. The scheme of the Purusha Sukta is the only instance in which the real is elevated to the dignity of an ideal. This is the first unique feature of the scheme set forth in the Purusha Sukta. Secondly, no community has given the de facto state of class composition a legal effect by accepting it as a de jure connotation of an ideal society. The case of the Greeks is a case in point. Class composition was put forth as an ideal social structure by no less an advocate than Plato. But the Greeks never thought of making it real by giving it the sanction of law. The Purusha Sukta is the only instance in which an attempt was made to give reality to the ideal by invoking the sanction of law. Thirdly, no society has accepted that the class composition is an ideal. At the most they have accepted it as being natural. The Purusha Shukta goes further. It not only regards class composition as natural and ideal, but also regards it as sacred and divine. Fourthly, the number of the classes has never been a matter of dogma in any society known to history...the scheme of the Purusha Sukta makes the division of society into four classes a matter of dogma. According to it, there can be neither more or less. Fifthly every society leaves a class to find its place vis-_-vis other classes according to its importance in society as may be determined by the forces operating from time to time. No society has an official gradation laid down, fixed and permanent, with an ascending scale of reverence and a descending scale of contempt. **The scheme of the Purusha Sukta is unique, in as much as it fixes a permanent warrant of precedence among the different classes which neither time nor circumstances can alter."**

* W. & S. - Vol- 7- P- 26

The aim and object of society

".....the individual is an end in himself and that **the aim and object of society is the growth of the individual and the development of his personality.** Society is not above the individual and if the individual has to subordinate himself to society, it is because such subordination is for his betterment and only to the extent necessary.

The second essential is that **the terms of associated life between**

members of society must be regarded by consideration founded on liberty, equality and fraternity."

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 95

"..... while the ultimate goal of a brute's life is reached once his physical appetites are satisfied, the ultimate goal of man's existence is not reached unless and until he has fully cultivated his mind. In short, what divides the brute, from man is culture. Culture is not possible for the brute, but it is essential for man. That being so, **the aim of human society must be to enable every person to lead a life of culture which means the cultivation of the mind** as distinguished from the satisfaction of mere physical wants."

* W. & S. - Vol- 9- P- 283

Democratic society must assure a life of culture

" Both for society and as well as for the individual there is always a gulf between merely living and living worthily. In order that one may live worthily one must first live. The time and energy spent upon mere life, upon gaining of subsistence detracts from that available for activities of a distinctively human nature and which go to make up a life of culture. How then can a life of culture be made possible? It is not possible unless there is sufficient leisure. For it is only when there is leisure that a person is free to devote himself to a life of culture. The problem of all problems which human society has to face is how to provide leisure to every individual. What does leisure mean? Leisure means the lessening of the toil and effort necessary for satisfying the physical wants of life. How can leisure be made possible? Leisure is quite impossible unless some means are found whereby the toil required for producing goods necessary to satisfy human needs is lessened. What can lessen such toil? Only when machine takes the place of man. There is no other means of producing leisure. Machinery and modern civilization are thus indispensable for emancipating man from leading the life of a brute, and for providing him with leisure and making a life of culture possible. The man who condemns machinery and modern civilization simply does not understand their purpose and the ultimate aim which human society must strive to achieve.

..... a democratic society must assure a life of leisure and culture to each one of its citizens. If the above analysis is correct then **the slogan of a democratic society must be machinery, and more** machinery, civilization and more civilization."

* W. & S. - Vol- 9- P- 284

An Ideal society

"If you ask me, **my ideal would be a society based on liberty, equality and fraternity...**An ideal society should be mobile, should be full of channels for conveying a change-taking place in one part to other parts. In an ideal society there should be many interests consciously communicated and

shared. There should be varied and free points of contact with other modes of association. In other words there must be social endosmosis."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 57

Rights and society

".....rights are protected not by law but by the social and moral conscience of society. If social conscience is such that it is prepared to recognize the rights which law chooses to enact, rights will be safe and secure. But if the fundamental rights are opposed by the community, no Law, no parliament, no judiciary can guarantee them in the real sense of the word."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 222

The stratification of society is incompatible

" Modern science has shown that lumping together of individuals into a few sharply marked off classes each confined to one particular sphere does injustice both to the individuals and to Society. **The stratification of society by classes and occupations is incompatible with the fullest utilisation of the qualities which is so necessary for social advancement and is also incompatible with the safety and security of the individual as well as of Society in general."**

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 321

For reform- a legislation is must

"Society is always conservative. It doesn't change unless it is compelled to and that too very slowly. When change begins, there is always a struggle between the old and the new, and the new is always in danger of being eliminated in the struggle for survival unless it is supported. The one sure way of carrying through a reform is to back it up by law. Without the help of legislation, there can never be reform in any evil. The necessity of legislation is very great when the evil to be reformed is based on religion.

* W. & S. - Vol- 12- P- 115

15. THE HINDU

A foreign name

"The name Hindu is itself a foreign name. It was given by the Mohammedan to the natives for the purpose of distinguishing themselves. It does not occur in any Sanskrit work prior to the Mohammedan invasion. They did not feel the necessity of a common name because they had no conception of their having constituted a community."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 50

Physique

" Physically speaking the Hindus is a C3 people. They are a race of Pygmies and dwarfs stunted in stature and wanting in stamina. It is nation 9/10ths of which is declared to be unfit for military service. This shows that the Castes System does not embody the eugenics of modern scientists. It is a social system which embodies the arrogance and selfishness of a perverse section of the Hindus who were superior enough in social status to set it in fashion and who had authority to force it on their inferiors."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 50

Hindu's life - A abject surrender

"A Hindu's life has been a life of continuous defeat and what appears to him to be life everlasting is not living everlastingly but is really a life which is perishing everlastingly. It is a mode of survival of which every right-minded Hindu, who is not afraid to own up the truth, will fell ashamed."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 66

".....the Hindu Society has been able to stand while others have died out or disappeared is hardly a matter for congratulation. If it has survived it is not because of caste but because the foreigner who conquered the Hindus did not find it necessary to kill them wholesale. There is no honour in mere survival. What matter is the plane of survival. One can survive by unconditional surrender. One can survive by beating a cowardly retreat and one can survive by fighting. On what plane have the Hindus survived? If they can be said to have survived after fighting and beating their enemies the virtue ascribed to the caste system by Mr. Gandhi could be admitted. The history of the Hindus has been one of surrender——abject surrender."

* W. & S. - Vol- 9- P- 286

" The fall of the Hindu community is due entirely to the fact that the masses have not cared to know what are the birth rights of a human being and much less have they cared to see that they are recognised and not set at naught the base acts and deeds of selfish people."

* W. & S. - Vol- 5- P- 253

Social attitude

" The Hindus have innate and invertebrate conservatism and they have a religion, which is incompatible with liberty, equality and fraternity i.e with democracy."

* W. & S. - Vol- 9- P- 429

"Democracy and democratic life, justice and conscience that are sustained by a belief in democratic principle are foreign to the Hindu mind."

* W. & S. - Vol- 9- P- 432

".....the Hindu majority must undoubtedly be reckoned as a hostile majority."

* W. & S. - Vol- 2- P- 253

No caste no Hindu

"But there can be no doubt that caste is one and an essential and integral part of Hinduism. Every Hindu, If he is not merely a statutory Hindu believes in caste and every Hindu even one who prides himself on being a statutory Hindu has a caste. A Hindu is as much born into caste as he is born in Hinduism. Indeed a person cannot be born in Hinduism, unless he is born in caste. Caste and Hinduism are inseparable."

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 336

"Caste doesn't result in economic efficiency. Caste can not and has not improved the race. Caste has however done one thing. It has completely disorganized and demoralized the Hindus."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 50

The Hindu is caste conscious. He is also class conscious." Whether he is caste conscious or class conscious depends upon the caste with which he comes in conflict. If the caste with which he comes in conflict is a caste within the class to which he belongs he is caste conscious. If the caste is outside the class to which he belongs he is class conscious. Anyone who needs any evidence on this point may study the Non- Brahmin movement in the Madras and the Bombay presidency."

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 146

" A Hindu is born in a caste and he dies as a member of that caste. **There is no Hindu without caste**, cannot escape caste and being bounded by caste from birth to death he becomes subject to social regulations and traditions of the caste over which he has no control."

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 145

Meanness is worse than cruelty

"The Hindus criticise the Mohammedan for having spread their religion by the use of the sword. They also ridicule Christianity on the score of the inquisition. But really speaking who is better and more worthy of our respect...the Mohammedan and Christians who attempted to thrust down the throats of unwilling persons what they regarded as necessary for their salvation or the Hindu who would not spread the light, who would endeavour to keep others in darkness, who would not consent to share his intellectual and social inheritance with those who are ready and willing to make it a part of their own makeup? I have no hesitation in saying that if the Mohammedan has been cruel the Hindu has been mean and meanness is worse than cruelty."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 54

Slavery and Hindus

".... it is quite untrue that slavery was not recognized by the Hindus. Slavery is a very ancient institution of the Hindus. It is recognized by Manu, the Hindu lawgiver and has been elaborated and systematized by the other Smriti writers who followed Manu. Slavery among the Hindus was never merely ancient institution, which functioned, only in some hoary past. It was an institution which continued throughout Indian history down to the year 1843 and if it had not been abolished by the British Government by law in that year, it might have continued even today."

* W. & S. - Vol- 5- P- 9

Hindus ate beef

".... the Hindus at one time did kill cows and did eat beef is proved abundantly by the description of the Yajnas given in the Buddhist Sutras which relate to periods much later than the Vedas and the Brahmanas. The scale on which the slaughter of cows and animals took place was colossal. It is not possible to give a total of such slaughter on all accounts committed by the Brahmins in the name of religion. Some idea of the extent of this slaughter can however be had from references to it in the Buddhist literature. As an illustration reference may be made to the Kutadanta Sutta in which Buddha preached against the performance of animal sacrifices to Brahmin Kutadanta."

* W. & S. - Vol- 7- P- 328

"... there was a time when Hindus- both Brahmins and non- Brahmins are not only ate flesh but also beef."

* W. & S. - Vol- 7- P- 328

The high caste Hindus are bad as leaders

"Unfortunately, the high caste Hindus are bad as leaders. They have a trait of character, which often leads the Hindus to disaster. This trait is formed by their acquisitive instinct and aversion to share with others the good things of life. They have a monopoly of education and wealth, and with wealth and education they have captured the State. To keep this monopoly to themselves has been the ambition and goal of their life. Charged with this selfish idea of class domination, they take every move to exclude the lower classes of Hindus from wealth, education and power, the surest and the most effective being the preparation of scriptures, inculcating upon the minds of the lower classes of Hindus the teaching that their duty in life is only to serve the higher classes. In keeping this monopoly in their own hands and excluding the lower class from any share in it, the high caste Hindus have succeeded for a long time and beyond measure. It is only recently that the lower class Hindus rose in revolt against this monopoly by starting the Non- Brahmin parties ....."

* W. & S. - Vol- 8- P- 123

Sick men of India

" I shall be satisfied if I make the Hindus realize that they are the sick men of India and that their sickness is causing danger to the health and happiness of other Indians."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 26

Live a wrong social life

".... I am disgusted with Hindus and Hinduism it is because, I am convinced that they cherish wrong ideals and live a wrong social life. My quarrel with Hindus and Hinduism is not over the imperfections of their social conduct. It is much more fundamental. It is over their ideals."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 94

Orthodox Hindu

"What the Orthodox Hindu will say about this book **(who were the Shudras?)** I can well imagine for I have been battling with him all these years. The only thing I did not know was how the meek and non - violent looking Hindu can be violent when anybody attacks his Sacred Books....for having brought forth chapter and verse to show that what goes by the name of Sacred Books contains fabrications which are political in their motive, partisan in their composition and fraudulent in their purpose. I do not propose to take any notice of their vilification's or their threats. For I know very well that they are a base crew who, professing to defend their religion, have made religion a matter of trade. They are more selfish than any other set of being in the world, and are prostituting their intelligence to support the vested interests of their class. It is a matter of no small surprise that when the mad dogs of orthodoxy are let loose against a person who has the courage to raise his voice against the so- called sacred books of the Hindus, eminent Hindus occupying lofty places, claiming themselves to be highly educated and who could be expected to have no interest and to have a free and open mind becomes partisans and join the outcry. **Even Hindu Judges of High courts and Hindu Prime Ministers of Indian states do not hesitate to join their kind. They go further. They not only lead the howl against him but even join in the hunt. What is outrageous is that they do so because they believe that their high stations in life would invest their words with an amount of terror, which would be sufficient enough to cow down any and every opponent of orthodoxy."**

* W. & S. - Vol- 7- P- 14

Worshipping of many Gods

".....the Hindus are never steadfast in their devotion to their Gods. There is no such thing as loyalty or attachment or faith in one God. In the History of Hindu Gods one finds it a very common experience that some Gods have been worshipped for a time and subsequently their worship has been abandoned and the Gods themselves have been thrown on the scrap heap. Quite new Gods are adopted and their worship goes with an

intensity of devotion, which is full and overflowing. Again the new Gods are abandoned and are replaced by a fresh crop of new Gods. So the cycle goes on. In this way Hindu Gods are always undergoing rise and fall- a phenomenon which is unknown in the history of any other community in the world."

* W. & S. - Vol- 4- P- 80-81

".....the existence of many Gods among the Hindus is quite understandable because the Hindu society has been formed by the conglomeration of many tribes and many communities each of whom had their own separate Gods. What strikes one as a strange phenomenon is the sight of the Hindu Gods, struggling one against the other, their combats and feuds and the ascription's by one God to the other, all things that are a shame and disgrace to common mortals."

* W. & S. - Vol- 4- P- 79

16. HINDU SOCIETY

Hindu society - a collection of castes

".....that Hindu Society is myth. The name Hindu is itself a foreign name. It was given by the Mohammedan to the natives for the purpose of distinguishing themselves ...**Hindu society as such does not exist. It is only a collection of castes."**

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 50

The Hindu Ideal of society

" The Hindu ideal of society as prescribed by Hindu religion has acted as a most demoralizing and degrading influence on Hindu society. It is Neitzschean in its form and essence. Long before Nietzsche was born Manu had proclaimed the gospel which Nietzsche sought to preach. It is a religion, which is not intended to establish liberty, equality and fraternity. It is a gospel, which proclaims the worship of the superman——the Brahmin by the rest of the Hindu society. It propounds that the superman and his class alone are born to live and to rule. Others are born to serve them, and to nothing more. They have no life of their own to live, and no right to develop their own personality. This has been the gospel of the Hindu Religion. Hindu philosophy, whether it is Vedanta, Sankhya, Nyaya, Vaishashika, has moved in its own circle without in anyway affecting the Hindu religion."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 218-219

".....**the Hindu Society**, in common with other societies, was composed of classes and the earliest known are the (1) Brahmins or the priestly class; (2) the Kshtriya, or the military class; (3) the Vaishya, or the merchant class and (4) the Shudra, or the artisan and menial class. Particular attention has to be paid to the fact that this was essentially a

class system, in which individuals, when qualified, could change their class, and therefore classes did change their personnel. At some time in the history of the Hindus, the priestly class socially detached itself from the rest of the body of people and through a closed door policy became a caste by itself. The other classes being subject to the law of social division of labour underwent differentiation, some into large, others into very minute groups. The Vaishya and Shudra classes were the original inchoate plasm, which formed the sources of the numerous castes of today. As the military occupation does not very easily lend itself to very minute sub-division, the Kshatriya class could have differentiated into soldiers and administrators."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 18

The Hindu society and castes

" The Hindu Society being a federation of castes and each caste being self-enclosed there is no place for the convert for no caste will admit him. The answer to the question why the Hindu Religion ceased to be a missionary religion is to be found in the fact that it developed the caste system. Caste is incompatible with conversion. So long as mass conversion was possible, the Hindu Society could convert for the converts were large enough to form a new caste, which could provide the elements of a social life from among themselves. But when mass conversions were no more and only individuals converts could be had, the Hindu Religion had necessarily to cease to be missionary for its social organization could make no room for the incoming convert."

* W. & S. - Vol- 5- P- 424

".....the greater the castes the greater the isolation and the greater the weakness of the Hindu society. If the Hindu society desires to survive it must think not of adding to its numbers but increasing its solidarity and that means the abolition of caste. The abolition of castes is the real Sanghatan of the Hindus and when Sanghathan is achieved by the abolishing of castes, Shudhi will be unnecessary and if practised, will be gainful of real strength. With the castes in existence, it is impossible and if practised would be harmful to the real Sanghatan and solidarity of the Hindus. But somehow the most revolutionary and ardent reformer of the Hindu Society shies at the idea of abolition of the caste and advocates such puerile measures as the reconversion of the converted Hindu, the changing of the diet and the starting of Akhadas. Some day it will dawn upon the Hindus that they cannot save their society and also preserve their caste. It is to be hoped that day is not far off."

* W. & S. - Vol- 5- P- 425

".....Hindu **society is not a democratic society. ...Are not the millions of Shudras and non-Brahmins or millions of the Untouchables, suffering the worst consequences of the undemocratic character of Hindu society?** Who benefits from education, from public service and from political reforms except the

Hindu ...governing class...composed of the higher castes of the Hindus...which form not even 10 percent, of the total Hindu population? Has not the governing class of the Hindus, which controls Hindu politics, shown more regard for safeguarding the rights and interests of the Mussalmans than they have for safeguarding the rights and interests of the Shudras and the Untouchables?"

* W. & S. - Vol- 8- P- 356

"Whatever may be the metaphysical basis of a religion, those religious principles upon which depend the ethical system and the social practices of a people must be considered to be the principal element of that religion. Though Hinduism is based on the conception of Absolute Brahma the practices of the Hindu community as a whole are founded on the doctrines of inequality as pronounced in "Manusmriti". Some people think that religion is not essential to society. I do not hold this view. I consider the foundation of religion to be essential to the life and practices of society. At the root of the Hindu social system lies Dharma as prescribed in Manusmriti. Such being the case I do not think it possible to abolish inequality in the Hindu society unless the existing foundation of the Smriti religion is removed and a better one laid in its place. I however despair of the Hindu society being able to reconstruct on such a better foundation."

* W. & S. - Vol- 17(I)- P- 236

"In my opinion only when the Hindu Society becomes a casteless society that it can hope to have strength enough to defend itself. Without such internal strength, Swaraj for Hindus may turn out to be only a step towards slavery."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 80

17. HINDU CIVILIZATION

Is civilization or infamy ?

"..... the Hindu civilization has produced three social classes whose existence has not received the attention it deserves. The three classes are: (i) The Criminal Tribes who number about 20 millions are so, (ii) The Aboriginal Tribes who number about 15 millions, and (iii) The Untouchables who number about 50 millions.

The existence of these classes is an abomination. The Hindu civilization, gauged in the light of these social products, could hardly be called civilization. It is a diabolical contrivance to suppress and enslave humanity. Its proper name would be infamy. What else can be said of a civilization which has produced a mass of people who are taught to accept crime as an approved means of earning their livelihood, another mass of people who are left to live in full bloom of their primitive barbarism in the midst of civilization and a third mass of people who are treated as an entity beyond human intercourse and whose mere touch is enough to cause pollution? ...The Hindu doesn't regard the existence of these classes

as a matter of apology or shame and feels no responsibility either to atone for it or to enquire into its origin and growth. On the other hand, every Hindu is taught to believe that his civilization is not only the most ancient but that it is also in many respects altogether unique. No Hindu ever feels tired of repeating these claims. That the Hindu Civilization is the most ancient, one can understand and even allow. But it is not quite so easy to understand on what grounds they rely for claiming that the Hindu Civilization is a unique one. The Hindus may not like it, but so far as it strikes non- Hindus, such a claim can rest only on one ground. It is the existence of these classes for which the Hindu Civilization is responsible. That the existence of such classes is a unique phenomenon, no Hindu need repeat, for nobody can deny the fact. One only wishes that the Hindu realized that it were a matter for which there was more cause for shame than pride."

* W. & S. - Vol- 7- P- 239-240

"Is there any society in the world, which has unapproachables, unshadowables, and unseeables? Is there any society, which has got a population of Criminal Tribes? Is there a society in which there exist today primitive people, who live in jungles, who do not Know even to clothe, themselves? How many do they count in numbers? Is it a matter of hundreds, is it a matter of thousands? I wish they numbered a paltry few. The tragedy is that they have to be counted in millions, millions of Untouchables, millions of Criminal Tribes, millions of Primitive Tribes ! One wonders whether the Hindu Civilization, is civilization or infamy?"

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 219-220

Chaturvarna - a fundamental part of Hindu Civilization

"What would an Untouchable say of this Hindu Civilization? Would it be wrong if he said that it is felony and not civilization?

That the condition of the Primitive Tribes, of the Criminal Tribes and of the Untouchables is the result of fundamental doctrines of Hindu Civilization there can be no manner of doubt.

Why have there been no missions to bring these Primitive Tribes into the Hindu fold?

Why has crime become an occupation for certain tribes? Why have certain classes been treated as unfit for human association, as Untouchables?

The answer to each of these questions will have reference to some basic principle of the Hindu Civilization.

To the first question the answer is that the caste system prevents the Hindu Religion from becoming a missionary religion and caste is a fundamental part of the Hindu Civilization. To the second question the answer is that the system of Chaturvarna limits the opportunities which a person can have for earning an honourable living. All learned are the

preserve of the Brahmins; all warlike services are the monopoly of the Kshatriya class; trade is open only to Vaishya, services to the Shudras. Those outside, there being nothing honourable left, have been driven to dishonourable and criminal ways of earning a livelihood. **This is the result of Chaturvarna and Chaturvarna is again a fundamental part of Hindu Civilization.**

To the third question the answer is that untouchability is part of the Hindu law as contained in the Smritis which are again a fundamental part of the Hindu Civilization."

* W. & S. - Vol- 5- P- 142-143

18. THE HINDU SOCIAL ORDER

It's essential principles

"What is the character of the Hindu Social order? Is it a free social order? To answer this question, some idea what constitutes a free social order is necessary...Generally speaking, they are two. **The first is that the individual is an end in himself** and that the aim and object of society is the growth of the individual and the development of his personality. Society is not above the individual and if the individual has to subordinate himself to society, it is because such subordination is for his betterment and only to the extent necessary.

The second essential is that the terms of associated life between members of society must be regarded by consideration founded on liberty, equality and fraternity."

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 95

Does the Hindu social order recognize the individual...?

".....The Hindu social order does not recognise the individual as a centre of social purpose. For the Hindu social order is based primarily on class or Varna and not on individuals. Originally and formally the Hindu social order recognized four classes: (1) Brahmins (2) Kshatriyas (3) Vaishyas (4) Shudras. Today it consists of five classes, the fifth being called the Panchamas or Untouchables. The unit of Hindu society is not the individual Bahmin or the individual Kshatriya or the individual Vaishyas or the individual Shudra or the individual Panchamas. Even the family is not regarded by the Hindu social order as the unit of society except for the purposes of marriage and inheritance. The unit of Hindu society is the class or Varna to use the Hindu technical name for class. In the Hindu social order, there is no room for individual merit and no consideration of individual justice. If the individual has a privilege it is not because it is due to him personally. The privilege goes with the class, and if he is found to enjoy it, it is because he belongs to that class. Contrawise, if an individual is suffering from a wrong, it is not because he by his conduct deserves it.

The disability is the disability imposed upon the class and if he is found to be labouring under it, it is because he belongs to that class.

Does the Hindu social order recognize fraternity? The Hindus like the Christians and the Muslims do believe that men are created by God. But while the Christians and the Muslims accept this as the whole truth the Hindus believe that this is only part of the truth. According to them, the whole truth consists of two parts. The first part is that men are created by God. The second part is that God created different men from different parts of his divine body. The Hindus regard the second part as more important and more fundamental than the first.

The Hindu social order is based on the doctrine that men are created from the different parts of the divinity and therefore the view expressed by Paul or the pilgrim fathers has no place in it. The Brahmin is no brother to the Kshatriyas because the former is born from the mouth of the divinity while the latter is from the arms. The Kshatriya is no brother to the Vaishya because the former is born from the arms and the latter from the thighs. As no one is a brother to the other, no one is the keeper of the other.

The doctrine that the different classes were created from different parts of the Divine body has generated the belief that it must be divine will that they should remain separate and distinct. It is this belief which has created in the Hindu an instinct to be different, to be separate and to be distinct from the rest of his fellow Hindus."

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 99-100

"Does the Hindu social order recognise equality? The answer must be in the negative. That men are born equal is a doctrine, which is repugnant to the Hindu social order. In the spiritual sense it treats the doctrine as false. According to the Hindu social order though it is true that men are the children of Prajapita the Creator of the Universe, they are not equal on that account. For, they were created from the different parts of the body of Prajapati."

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 106

"If the Hindu social order is not based on equality and fraternity what are the principles on which it is based...Among these the **first and foremost is the principle of graded inequality.**

That the principle of graded inequality is a fundamental principle is beyond controversy. The four classes are not on horizontal plane, different but equal. They are on vertical plane. Not only different but unequal in status, one standing above the other. In the scheme of Manu, the Brahmin is placed at the first in rank. Below him is the Kshatriya. Below the Kshatriya is the Vaishya below Vaishya is the Shudra and below Shudra is the Anti-Shudra or the Untouchable. This order of precedence among the classes is not merely conventional. It is spiritual, moral and legal. There is no sphere of life, which is not regulated by this principle of graded inequality."

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 107

"The second principle on which the Hindu social order is founded is that of fixity of occupations for each class and continuance thereof by heredity. This is what Manu says about occupations of the four classes."

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 111

"The third principle on which the Hindu social order is founded is the fixation of people within their respective classes. There is nothing strange or peculiar in the fact that the Hindu social order recognizes classes. There are classes everywhere and no society is without them...

...What is striking about the Hindu social order is its ban on free interchange and inter-course between different classes of Hindu society. There is a bar against inter - dining and inter - marriage. But Manu goes to the length of interdicting ordinary social intercourse."

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 113

" What about liberty of action? In the sense of effective choice, there is no room for it in the Hindu social order. The Hindu social order leaves no choice to the individual. It fixes his occupation. It fixes his status. All that remains for the individual to do is to conform himself to these regulations.

The same must be said with regard to political liberty. The Hindu social order does not recognise the necessity of a representative government composed of the representatives chosen by the people. Representative Government rests on the belief that people must be governed by law and law can be made only by the representatives of the people. The Hindu social order recognises the first part of this thesis, which says that people must be governed by law. But it denies the second part of the thesis, which says that law can be made only by the representatives chosen by the people. The tenets of the Hindu social order is that the law by which people are to be governed is already made and are to be found in the Vedas. Nobody has a right to add to and subtract from it. That being so, a representative assembly of the people is unnecessary. Political liberty, which is liberty to frame laws and to make and unmake Government, is futility for which there is no place in the Hindu social order.

...the Hindu social order is an order based on classes and not on individual. It is an order in which classes are graded one above the other. It is an order in which the status and functions of the classes are determined and fixed. The Hindu social order is a rigid order. No matter what changes take place in the relative position of an individual his social status as a member of the class he is born in relation to another person belonging to another class shall in no way be affected. The first shall never become the last. The last shall never become the first."

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 115

It's unique feature.

"Besides its essentials, the Hindu social order has some unique

features. These unique features are as important as the essentials. No study of the Hindu social order, which does not make any reference to them, can be regarded as complete or accurate.

What are these special features? **The special features of the Hindu social order are three in number. Of these three, the most striking is the worship of the superman."**

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 116

"The Superman is the Brahmin and the common man is the Shudra. The Superman has rights and no duties. Everything is at the disposal of the Superman, everything must be ascribed in the interests of the Superman. The counterpart of the same feature is the degradation of the common man. As against the Superman the common man has no right to life, liberty, property or pursuit of happiness. He must be ready to sacrifice everything for the sustenance of the life and dignity of the Superman."

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 123

"Another special feature of the Hindu social order relates to the technique devised for its preservation. **The technique is twofold.**

The first technique is to place the responsibility of upholding and maintaining the social order upon the shoulders of the King."

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 124

"The second technique devised for the maintenance and preservation of the established order is quite different from the first. Really speaking, it is this, which constitutes a special feature of the Hindu social order.

In the wake of the preservation of the social order from violent attack it is necessary to bear in mind three considerations. The outbreak of a revolution is conditioned by three factors: (1) the existence of a sense of wrong: (2) capacity to know that one is suffering from a wrong and (3) availability of arms. The second consideration is that there are two ways of dealing with a rebellion. One is to prevent a rebellion from occurring and the other is to suppress it after it has broken out. The third consideration is that whether the prevention of rebellion would be feasible or whether the suppression of rebellion would be the only method opens, would depend upon the rules, which govern the three pre- requisites of rebellion.

.... the Hindu social order has adopted the first method. It has fixed the social status of the lower orders for all generations to come. Their economic status is also fixed. There being no disparity between the two, there is no possibility of a grievance growing up. It has denied education to the lower orders. The result is that no one is conscious that his low condition is a ground for grievance. If there is any consciousness it is that no one is responsible for the low condition. It is the result of fate. Assuming there is a grievance, assuming there is consciousness of grievance, there

cannot be a rebellion by the lower orders against the Hindu social order because the Hindu Social order denies the masses the right to use arms. Other social orders such as those of the Muslims or the Nazis follow the opposite course. They allow equal opportunity to all. They allow freedom to acquire knowledge. They allow the right to bear arms and take upon themselves the odium of suppressing rebellion by force and violence. To deny freedom of opportunity, to deny freedom to acquire knowledge, to deny the right of arms is a most cruel wrong.

...The **third special feature** of the Hindu social order is that it is a Divine order designed by God himself. As such it is sacred, not open to abrogation, amendment, not even to criticism. For the purpose of removing any doubt that may be lurking in the minds of anybody about the Divine character of the Hindu social order."

* * W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 126-127

A ladder of caste

"The Hindu social order is a ladder of caste placed one above the other together representing an ascending scale of hatred and a descending scale of contempt."

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 105

Graded inequality prevent common attack

"In a social system based on inequality, the low order can combine to overthrow the system. None of them have any interest to preserve it. **In a social system based on graded inequality the possibility of a general common attack by the aggrieved parties is non-existent.** In a system of graded inequality, the aggrieved parties are not on a common level. This can happen only when they are only high and low. In the system of graded inequality there are the highest (the Brahmins) below the highest are the higher (the Kshatriyas). Below the higher are those who are high (Vaishya). Below the high are the low (Shudra) and below the low are those who are lower (the Untouchables). All have a grievance against the highest and would like to bring about their down fall. But they will not combine. The higher is anxious to get rid of the highest but does not wish to combine with the high, the low and the lower, lest they should reach his level and be his equal. The high wants to overthrow the higher who is above him but does not want to join hands with the low and the lower, lest they should rise to his status and become equal to him in rank. The low is anxious to pull down the highest, the higher and the high but he would not make a common cause with the lower for fear of the lower gaining a higher status and becoming his equal. In the system of graded inequality there is no such class as completely unprivileged class except the one, which is at the base of the social pyramid. The privileges of the rest are graded.

Even the low is a privileged class as compared with the lower. Each class being privileged, every class is interested in maintaining the social system."

* W. & S. - Vol- 5- P- 101-102

"It is obvious that these three classes are naturally allies. There is every ground for them to combine for the destruction of the Hindu social order. But they have not. It is not that no attempt has been made to unite them. The non- Brahmin party which held the field between 1919-1935 was an attempt to unite them into one political organization to destroy the dominance of the Brahmins who are the architects of the Hindu social order and being the chief beneficiaries of it are its strongest supporters.

.....The Shudras and the Criminal and Primitive Tribes are more hostile to the Untouchables than they are to the Brahmins. Indeed it is the Shudras who act as the police force of the Brahmins for repelling the attack of the Untouchables on the Hindu social order. This is a strange phenomenon. But it is a fact.

.....If the Hindu social order was based on inequality, it would have been over thrown long ago. But it is based on graded inequality so that the Shudra while he is anxious to pull down the Brahmin, he is not prepared to see the Untouchable raised to his level. He prefers to suffer the indignities heaped upon him by the Brahmins to join the Untouchables for a general leveling down of the social order. The result is that, there is nobody to join the Untouchable in his struggle. He is completely isolated."

* W. & S. - Vol- 5- P-115 - 116

Manusmriti-base of Hindu Social Order

"The rock on which the Hindu Social Order has been built is the Manu Smriti. It is a part of the Hindu Scriptures and is therefore sacred to all Hindus. Being sacred it is infallible. Every Hindu believes in its sanctity and obeys its injunctions. Manu not only upholds caste and untouchability but gives them a legal sanction. The burning of the Manu Smriti was a deed of great daring. It was an attack on the very citadel of Hinduism. The Manu Smriti embodied the spirit of inequality, which is at the base of Hindu life, and thought just, as the Bastille was the embodiment of the spirit of the Ancient regime in France."

* W. & S. - Vol- 5- P- 255

Undemocratic social order

"The Hindu social system is undemocratic not by accident. It is designed to be undemocratic. Its division of society into Varnas and castes and out - castes is not theories but are decrees. They are all barricades raised against democracy."

* W. & S. - Vol- 4- P- 284

".....If the Hindu social order is to fall to the ground, it can happen only under two conditions. Firstly, the social order must be subjected

to constant fire. Secondly, they can't subject it to constant fire unless they are independent of the Hindus in thought and in action."

* W. & S. - Vol- 5- P- 396

19. CHATURVARNA

No unanimity about the origin of the four Varna

".....It is quite clear that there is no unanimity among the Vedas on the origin of the four Varnas. None of the other Vedas agree with the Rig-Veda that the Brahmin was created from the mouth of the Prajapati, the Kshatriyas from his arms, the Vaishyas from his thighs and the Shudras from his feet."

* W. & S. - Vol- 4- P- 193

" What a chaos? Why could the Brahmins not give a uniform and consistent explanation of the origin of the four Varnas?

On the issue of who created them, there is no uniformity. The Rig-Veda says the four Varnas were created by Prajapati. It does not mention which Prajapati. One would like to know which Prajapati it was who created the four Varnas. For there are so many Prajapatis. But even on the point of creation by Prajapati there is no agreement. One says they were created by Brahman. Another says they were created by Kassyapa. The third says they were created by Manu.

On the issue how many Varnas, the creator-whoever he was—created, again there is no uniformity. The Rig-Veda says four Varnas were created. But other authorities say only two Varnas were created, some say Brahmans and Kshatriyas and some say Brahmana and Shudras.

On the issue the relations intended by the creator for binding together the four Varnas the Rig-Veda lays down the rule of graded inequality based on the importance of the part of the creation from which the particular Varna was born. But the white Yajur-Veda denies this theory of the Rig-Veda. So also the Upanishad, Ramayana, Mahabharata, and Puranas. Indeed the Hari Vansha goes to the length of saying that the Shudras are twice born.

This chaos seems to be the result of concoction of the theory of Chaturvarna, which the Brahmins quietly singled into the Rig-Veda contrary to, established traditions?

What was the purpose, What was the motive of the Brahmins who concocted this theory?"

* W. & S. - Vol- 4- 203-204

"What a chaotic state has been created by the Brahmans in trying to explain the origin of the Varna system. There is no uniformity or consistency in the explanations they have offered. One and the same authority gives a variety of explanations. One and the same authority gives explanations some of which are mythical, some of which are mystical and

rationalistic all intended to serve the same purpose namely to explain the origin of the Varna System"

* W. & S. - Vol- 4- P- 249

Originally there were only three Varnas

"For, the Rig-Veda, apart from the Purusha Shukta, does mention Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas not once but many times. The Brahmins are mentioned as a separate Varna fifteen times, Kshatriyas nine times. What is important is that the Rig Veda does not mention Shudra as a separate Varna. If Shudras were a separate Varna there is no reason why the Rig-Veda should not have mentioned them. The true conclusion to be drawn from the Rig Veda is not that the Varna system did not exits, but that there were only three Varnas and that Shudras were not regarded as a fourth and a separate Varna.

....It consists of an inference from the Rig Veda and two statements from two Brahmanas, which in point of authority are coequal with the Vedas. For both are Shruti both say in definite and precise terms that there were only three Varnas. Both agree that the Shudras did not form a separate and a distinct Varna, much less the fourth Varna. There cannot, therefore, be better evidence in support of my contention **that there were originally only three Varnas and that the Shudras were only a part of the second Varna."**

* W &.S-Vol-7-P-133-134

Theory of Gunadharma-an absurd explanation

"Krishna, the God of the Hindus, explains that he created the system of Chaturvarns and propounds the theory that it is a system of difference of Guna; innate virtue. This theory of difference of Guna is derived from the Sankhaya Philosophy of Kapila. Krishna offers this explanation of Chaturvarna in a commanding spirit as though it was incontrovertible. The Sankhya Philosophy no doubt asserts as a fundamental proposition that matter has got three Gunas Raj, Tama and Satva. Matter is not inert. It is instable equillibrium when all the three Gunas are coequal in their power. Matter becomes dynamic when the equillibrium is disturbed when one Guna becomes masterful over others. Krishna was of course very cleaver in seeking to give scientific explanation of the Varna system by applying the Sankhya theory of Guna dharma. **But in doing so Krishna has really made a fool of him. He did not realize that there are four Varnas and three Gunas and whatever ingenuity he might claim to have he could not account for the four Varnas with a theory, which did not require more than three Gunas. Here again what appears to be a rational explanation is an absurd explanation."**

* W. & S. - Vol- 4- P- 251

The principle underlying the Purusha Sukta is criminal in intent

"In propounding the doctrine of Chaturvarna, the Purusha Sukta plays a double game. It proceeds first to raise the real, namely, the existence of the four classes in the Indo-Aryan Society, to the status of an ideal. This is a deception because the ideal is in no way different from facts as they

exist. After raising the real to the status of the ideal, it proceeds to make a show of giving effect to what it regards as an ideal. This again is a deception because the ideal already exists in fact. This attempt of the Purusha Sukta to idealize the real and to realize the ideal, is a kind of political jugglery, the like of which, I am sure, is not to be found in any other book of religion. What else is it if not a fraud and a deception? To idealize the real, which more often than not is full of inequities is a very selfish thing to do. Only when a person finds a personal advantage in things, as they are that he tries to idealize the real. To proceed to make such an ideal real is nothing short of criminal. It means perpetuating inequity on the ground that whatever is once settled is settled for all times. Such a view is opposed to all morality. No society with a social conscience has ever accepted it. On the contrary, whatever progress in improving the terms of associated life between individuals and classes has been made in the course of history, is due entirely to the recognition of the ethical doctrine that what is wrongly settled is never settled and must be resettled. **The principle underlying the Purusha Sukta is, therefore, criminal in intent and anti-social in its results.** For, it aims to perpetuate an illegal gain obtained by one class and an unjust wrong inflicted upon another. What can be the motive behind this Jugglery of the Purusha Sukta?"

* W. & S. - Vol- 7- P- 31-32

Equating classes to the part of body is deliberate

"The equation of the different classes to different parts of the body is not a matter of accident. It is deliberate. The idea behind this plan seems to be to discover a formula, which will solve two problems, one of fixing the functions of the four classes and the other of fixing the gradation of the four classes after a preconceived plan. The formula of equating different classes to the different parts of the body of the Creator has this advantage. The part fixes the gradation of the class and the gradation in its turn fixes the function of the class."

* W. & S. - Vol- 7- P- 32

As a social organisation Chaturvarna is harmful

"The value of the ideal must be tested by its results. If experience therefore must be the criterion then **the ideal of Chaturvarna stands thrice condemned.** Purely as a form of social organization it stands condemned. As a producer's organization it stands discredited. As an ideal scheme of distribution it has miserably failed. If it is an ideal form of organization how is it that the Hinduism has been unable to form a common front. If it is an ideal form of production, how is it that its technique never advanced beyond that of the primitive man. If it is an ideal form of distribution, how is it that it has produced appalling inequality of wealth, immense wealth side by side extreme poverty."

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 67

"There cannot be a more degrading system of social organization than the

Chaturvarna. It is the system, which deadens, paralyses and cripples the people from helpful activity."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 63

"A close examination of this ideal has convinced me that as a system of social organisation, **Chaturvarna is impracticable harmful and has turned out to be a miserable failure.** From a practical point of view, the system of Chaturvarna raises several difficulties, which its protagonists do not seem to have taken into account. The principle underlying caste is fundamentally different from the principle underlying Varna. Not only are they fundamentally different but they are also fundamentally opposed."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P-59

" The caste system is in itself a degenerate form of the Chaturvarna, which is the ideal of the Hindu. **How can anybody who is not a congenital idiot accept Chaturvarna as the ideal form of society? Individually and socially** it is folly and a crime."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 219

".....the doctrine of Chaturvarna is the root cause of all inequality and is also the parent of the Caste system and untouchability, which are merely other forms of inequality."

* • L. & M. — P- 230

Ram Raj-a Raj based on Chaturvarna

".....Rama for killing Shambuka is to misunderstand the whole situation. Ram Raj was a Raj based on Chaturvarna. As a king, Rama was bound to maintain Chaturvarna. It was his duty therefore to kill Shambuka, the Shudra, who had transgressed his class and wanted to be a Brahmin. This is the reason why Rama killed Shambuka. But this also shows that penal sanction is necessary for the maintenance of Chaturvarna. Not only penal sanction is necessary but penalty of death is necessary. That is why Rama did not inflict on Shambuka a lesser punishment."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 61

Chaturvarna was annihilated

".....the Mourya period was a period when Chatrurvarna was completely annihilated, when the Shudras, who constituted the mass of the people, came into their own and became the rulers of the country."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 63

20. TRANSFORMATION OF VARNA INTO CASTE

Brahmanism ultimately converted Varna into caste.

" The transformation of Varna into Caste is the most stupendous and selfish task in which Brahminism after its triumph became primarily

engaged. We have no explicit record of the steps that Brahminism took to bring about this change. On contrary we have a lot of confused thinking on the relation between Varna and Caste. Some think that Varna and Caste are the same. Those who think that they are different seem to believe that Varna became caste when prohibition on intermarriage became part of the social order. All this, of course, is erroneous and the error is due to the fact that Manu in transforming the Varna into Caste has nowhere explained his ends and how his means are related to those ends...

Before proceeding to describe how this change was brought about let me clear the confusion between Varna and Caste. This can best be done by noting the similarities and differences between the two. Varna and Caste are identical in their de jure connotation. Both connote status and occupation. Status and occupation are the two concepts, which are implied both in the notion Varna as well as in the notion of Caste. Varna and Caste however differ in one important particular. Varna is not hereditary either in status or occupation. On the other hand Caste implies a system in which status and occupation are hereditary and descend from father to son.

When I say that Brahminism converted Varna into Caste what I mean is that it made status and occupation hereditary.

How was this transformation effected? As I said there are no footprints left of the steps taken by Brahminism to accomplish this change but there are landmark which serve to give us a clear view of how the deed came to be done.

The change was accomplished by stages. In the transformation of Varna into Caste three stages are quite well marked. The first stage was the stage in which the duration of Varna i.e. of status and occupation of a person was for a prescribed period of time only. The second stage was a stage in which the status and occupation involved the Varna of a person ensured during lifetime only. The third stage was a stage in which the status and occupation of the Varna became hereditary. To use legal language the Estate conferred by Varna was at the beginning an Estate for a term only. Thereafter it became a life Estate and finally it became an Estate of inheritance, which is tantamount to saying that Varna became Caste. That these are the stages by which Varna was converted into Caste seems to have ample support from tradition as recorded in the religious literature...

The word Manwantar also means the period for which the Varna of an individual was fixed. The word Manwantar is very rich in its contents and express the essential elements of the Varna system which were two. First it shows that Varna was determined by an independent body of people called Manu and Saptarshi. Secondly it shows that the Varna was for a period after which a change was made by Manu! According to ancient tradition as embodied in the Puranas the period for which the Varna of a person was fixed by Manu and Saptarshi was period of four years and was called Yug.....

... This system seems to have gone into abeyance. A new system grew up in its place. It was known as the Gurukul system. The Gurukul was a school maintained by a Guru (teacher) also called Acharya (learned man). All children went to this Gurukul for their education. The period of education extended for twelve years. The child while at Gurukul was known as Bramhachari. After the period of education was over there was the Upanayan ceremony performed at the Gurukul by the Acharya. The Upanayan ceremony was the most important ceremony. It was a ceremony at which the Acharya determined the Varna of the student and sent him out in the world to perform the duties of that Varna. Upanayan by the Acharyas was the new method of determining Varna, which came into vogue in place of method of determination by Manu and Saptarshi. The new method was undoubtedly superior to the old method...

With the introduction of the Acharya Gurukul system, the duration of the Varn came to be altered. Varna instead of being Varna for the period became Varna for life. But it was not hereditary.

Evidently Brahmanism was dissatisfied with this system. The reason for dissatisfaction was quite obvious. Under the system as prevalent there was every chance of the Acharya declaring the child of a Brahmin as fit only to be a Shudra. Brahmanism was naturally most anxious to avoid this result. It wanted the Varna to be hereditary. Only by making the Varna hereditary could it save the children of the Brahmins from being declared Shudras. To achieve this Brahminism proceeded in the most audacious manner one can think of.

Brahminism made three most radical changes in the system of determining the Varna of the child. In the first place the system of Gurukul as the place where training to the child was given and its varna was determined by the Guru at the end of the period of training was abolished. Manu is quite aware of the Gurukul and refers to Guruvas i.e. training and residence in the Gurukul under the Guru. But does not refer to it at all in connection with the Upanayan. He abolishes the Guru as an authority competent to perform Upanayana by omitting to make even the remotest reference to him in connection with upanayana. In place of the Guru Manu allows the Upanayana of the child to be performed by its father at home. Secondly, Upanayana was made into a Sanskara i.e. a sacrament. In olden times Upanayana was like a convocation ceremony held by the Guru to confer degrees obtained by students in his Gurukul in which certificates of proficiency in the duties of a particular Varna were granted. In Manu's law that Upanayana was a complete change in the meaning and purpose of this most important institution. Thirdly the relation of training to Upanayana was totally reversed. In the olden system training came before Upanayana. Under the Brahminism Upanayana came before training. Manu directs that a child is sent to the Guru for training but that is after Upanayana i.e. after his Varna is determined by his father.

The principal change made by Brahminism was the transfer of authority

from the Guru to the father in the matter of performing Upanayana. The result was that the father having the right to perform the Upanayana of his child gave his own Varna to the child and thus made it hereditory. It is by divesting the Guru of his authority to determine the Varna and vesting it in the father that Brahmanism ultimately converted Varna into caste."

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 285-289

21. CASTE AND CASTE SYSTEM

Defined

" A caste is an Enclosed Class."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 15

Genesis

".....the Hindu society, in common with other societies, was composed of classes and the earliest Known are the(1) Brahmins or the priestly class; (2) the Kshatriyas, or the military class; (3) the Vaishyas, or the merchant class and (4) the Shudra, or the artisan and menial class. Particular attention has to be paid to the fact that this was essentially a class system, in which individuals, when qualified, could change their class, and therefore classes did change their personnel. At some time in the history of the Hindus, the priestly class socially detached itself from the rest of the body of people and through a closed door policy became a caste by itself."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 17-18

Development and preservation

".....Endogamy or the closed - door system, was a fashion in the Hindu society, and as it had originated from the Brahmin caste it was whole heartily imitated by all the non- Brahmin sub-divisions or classes who, in their turn, became endogamous castes. It is "the infection of imitation" that caught all these sub - divisions on there onward march of differentiation and has turned them into castes."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 18

" I am justified in holding that, whether regarded as ends or as means, Sati, enforced widowhood and girl marriage are customs that were primarily intended to solve the problems of the surplus man and surplus women in a caste and to maintain its endogamy. Strict endogamy could not be preserved without these customs. While caste without endogamy is a fake."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 14

".....the whole process of caste- formation in India is a process of imitation of the higher by the lower."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 20

"My study of the caste problem involves four main points: (1) that inspite of the composite make up of the Hindu population, there is a deep cultural unity; (2) that caste is a parceling into bits of a larger cultural unit; (3) that there was one caste to start with and (4) that classes have become castes through imitation and excommunication."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 22

"According to my view girl marriage, enforced widowhood and Sati had no other purpose than that of supporting the Caste System, which Brahminism was seeking to establish by prohibiting intermarriage. It is difficult to stop intermarriage. Members of different castes are likely to go out of their Caste either for love or for necessity. It is to provide against necessity that Brahminism made these rules. This is my explanation of these new rules, made by Brahminism. That explanation may not be acceptable to all. But there can be no doubt that Brahminism was taking all means possible to prevent intermarriages between the different classes taking place."

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 301

"Caste in India means an artificial chopping off the population into fixed and definite units, each one prevented from fusing into another through the custom of endogamy."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 9

The originators

".....the strict observance of these customs and the social superiority arrogated by the priestly class in all ancient civilization are sufficient to prove that they were the originators of this "unnatural institution" founded and maintained through these unnatural means."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 15

Some features

"..... the caste system will not allow Hindus to take to occupations where they are wanted if they do not belong to them by heredity. If a Hindu is seen to starve rather than take to new occupations not assigned to his caste, the reason is to be found in the castè system. By not permitting readjustment of occupations, caste becomes a direct cause of much of the unemployment we see in the country. As a form of division of labour the caste system suffers from another serious defect. The division of labour brought about by the caste system is not a division based on choice. Individual sentiment, individual preference has no place in it. It is based on the dogma of predestination. Considerations of social efficiency would compel us to recognize that the greatest evil in the industrial system is not so much poverty and the suffering that it involves as the fact that so many persons have callings which make no appeal to those who are

engaged in them. Such callings constantly provoke one to aversion, ill will and the desire to evade. There are many occupations in India, which on account of the fact that they are regarded as degraded by the Hindus provoke those who are engaged in them to aversion. There is a constant desire to evade and escape from such occupations which arises solely because of the blighting effect which they produce upon those who follow them owing to the slight and stigma cast upon them by the Hindu religion. What efficiency can there be in a system under which neither men's hearts nor their minds are in their work ? **As an economic organization caste is** therefore a harmful institution, in as much as, it involves the subordination of man's natural powers and inclinations to the exigencies of social rules."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 48

" The caste system cannot be said to have grown as a means of preventing the admixture of races as a means of maintaining purity of blood. As a matter of fact caste system came into being long after the different races of India had commingled in blood and culture. To hold that distinctions of castes or really distinctions of race and to treat different castes as though they were so many different races is a gross perversion of facts. What racial affinity is there between the Brahmin of the Punjab and the Brahmin of Madras? What racial affinity is there between the Untouchable of Bengal and the Untouchable of Madras? What racial difference is there between the Brahmin of the Punjab and the Chamar of the Punjab? What racial difference is there between the Brahmin of Madras and the Pariah of Madras? The Brahmin of the Punjab is racially of the same stock as the Chamar of the Punjab and the Brahmin of Madras is of the same race as the Pariah of Madras. **Caste system doesn't demarcate racial division. Caste system is a social division of people of the same race."**

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 48-49

"..... An immense lot of nonsense is talked about heredity and eugenics in defence of the caste system. Few would object to the caste system if it were in accord with the basic principle of eugenics because few can object to the improvement of the race by judicious mating. But one fail to understand how the caste system secures judicious mating. Caste system is a negative thing. It merely prohibits person's belongings to different castes from intermarrying. It is not a positive method of selecting which two among a given caste should marry. If Caste is eugenic in origin then the origin of sub- castes must also be eugenic? I think it would be absurd to contend for such a proposition and for a very obvious reason. If caste means race then differences of sub- Castes cannot mean differences of race because sub-castes become ex hypothesia subdivisions of one and the same race. Consequently the bar against intermarrying and interdining between sub-castes cannot be for the purpose of maintaining purity of race or of blood. If sub castes cannot be eugenic in origin there cannot be any substance in the contention that caste is eugenic in origin. Again if caste is eugenic in origin one can understand the bar against

intermarriage. But what is the purpose of the interdict placed on interdining between castes and sub- castes alike? Interdining cannot infect blood and therefore cannot be the cause either of the improvement or of deterioration of the race. This shows that **caste has no scientific origin** and that those who are attempting to give it a eugenic basis are trying to support by science what is grossly unscientific."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 49

Each caste is conscious of its existence. Its survival is the be all and end all of its existence. Castes do not even form a federation. A caste has no feeling that it is affiliated to other castes except when there is a Hindu-Muslim riot. On all other occasions each caste endeavors to segregate itself and to distinguish itself from other castes. Each caste not only dines among itself and marries among itself but each caste prescribes its own distinctive dress.

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 50

"Each caste is separate and distinct. It is independent and sovereign in the disposal of its internal affairs and the endorsement of caste regulations. The castes touch but they do not interpenetrate. The second feature relates to the order in which one caste stand in relation to the other caste in the system. That order is vertical and not horizontal."

* W. & S. - Vol- 5- P- 160

"The caste in India is exclusive and isolated. There is no interaction and no modification of aims and objects. What a caste or a combination of castes regards as their own interest " as against other castes remains as sacred and inviolate as ever. The fact that they mingle and co-operate does not alter their character. These acts of co-operation are mechanical and not social. Individuals use one another so as to get desired results, without reference to the emotional and intellectual disposition. The facts that they give and take orders modify actions and results. But it does not affect their disposition."

* W. & S. - Vol- 9- P- 193

"Caste prevents mobilization. Occasions arise when society must mobilize all its resources to one end in order to save itself from a catastrophe. To take a catastrophe like war, society must mobilize all its resources for militarization. Every one must do war. Every one must be a soldier. Is this possible under the theory of caste? Obviously not, Indeed the destiny of a defeat, which has been the lot of India throughout history, is due to caste. Caste prevented general mobilization. Or the extent of mobilization was of a very limited character."

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 71

"(1) Caste divides Labourers (2) Castes disassociates work from interest (3) Caste disconnects intelligence from manual labour (4) Caste devitalizes by denying to him the right to cultivate vital interest and (5)

Caste prevents mobilization. Caste system is not merely division of labour. It is also a division of Labourers. Civilized society undoubtedly needs division of labour. But in no civilized society is division of labour accompanied by this unnatural division of Labourers into watertight compartments. Caste system is not merely a division of Labourers, which is quite different from division of labour it is an hierarchy in which the divisions of Labourers are graded on above the other."

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 67

"The castes are anti-national. In the first place because they bring about separation in social life. They are anti-national also because they generate jealousy and antipathy between caste and caste. But we must overcome all these difficulties if we wish to become a nation in reality."

* W. & S. - Vol- 13- P- 1217

Some peculiar features

"There are some peculiar features of the caste system, which must however be noted: -

1. Castes are so distributed that in any given area there is one caste which is major and there are others which are small and are subservient to the major caste owing to their comparative smallness and their economic dependence upon the major caste which owns most of the land in the village.
2. The caste system is marked not merely by inequality but is affected by the system of graded inequality. All caste are not on a par. They are one above the other. There is a kind of ascending scale of hatred and a descending scale of contempt.
3. A caste has all the exclusiveness and pride which a nation has. It is therefore not improper to speak of collection of castes as a collection of major and minor nation."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 167

"The consequences of the caste system on politics are quite obvious. The interesting part is to see what effect it has upon elections, which is the foundation of representative Government...

The effect may be summarized as follows: -

1. Voting is always communal. The voter votes for the candidate of his community and not for the best candidate.
2. The majority community carries the seat by sheer communal majority.
3. The Minority community is forced to vote for the candidate of the majority community.
4. The votes of the minority community are not enough to enable the candidate to win the seat against the candidate put up by the majority community.

5. As consequence of social system of graded inequality the Voter of the higher (major) communities can never condescend to give his vote to a candidate of a minority community. On the other hand the voter of the minority community who is socially on a lower level takes pride in giving his vote to the candidate of the majority community. That is another reason why a candidate of a minority community loses in election."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 167-168

Caste and orthodox Hindu

" There is a strong belief in the mind of orthodox Hindus that the Hindu Society was somehow molded into the framework of the caste system and that it is an organization consciously created by the Shastras. Not only does this belief exist, but it is being justified on the ground that it cannot but be good, because it is ordained by the Shastras and the Shastras cannot be wrong."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 16

"A caste is ever ready to take advantage of the helplessness of a man and insist upon complete conformity to its code in letter and in spirit. A caste can easily organize itself into a conspiracy to make the life of a reformer a hell and if a conspiracy is a crime I do not understand why such a nefarious act as an attempt to excommunicate a person for daring to act contrary to the rules of caste should not be made an offence punishable in law. ... Caste in the hands of the orthodox has been a powerful weapon for persecuting the reforms and for killing all reform."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 56

Effect of caste on Hindus

"The effect of caste on the ethics of the Hindus is simply deplorable. Caste has killed public spirit. Caste has destroyed the sense of public charity. Caste has made public opinion impossible. A Hindu's public is his caste. His responsibility is only to his caste. His loyalty is restricted only to his caste. Virtue has become caste-ridden and morality has become caste-bound. There is no sympathy to the deserving. There is no appreciation of the meritorious. There is no charity to the needy. Suffering as such calls for no response. There is charity but it begins with the caste and ends with the caste. There is sympathy but not for men of other caste."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 56-57

"In Hindu society each caste, lives for itself and although the Hindus have similarity of customs, beliefs and thoughts, they are neither a society nor a nation in the true sense of the term. They are a collection of castes. Caste is the bane of the Hindus. Caste is the cause of the downfall of the Hindus. Owing to caste the Hindu's life has been a life of continuous defeats. Caste has made the Hindus the sick men of India. Caste has

ruined the Hindu race and has destroyed, demoralized and devitalized Hindu society."

* L. &. M - P- 270

"Caste is, therefore, the real explanation as to why the Hindu has let the savage remain a savage in the midst of his civilization without blushing or without feeling any sense of remorse or repentance. The Hindu has not realized that **these aborigines are a source of potential danger.** If these savages remain savages they may not do any harm to the Hindus. But if they are reclaimed by non-Hindus and converted to their faiths they will swell the ranks of the enemies of the Hindus. If this happens the Hindu will have to thank himself and his caste system."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 53

What Hindu will say about caste system?

".....the Hindu will not admit that there is any thing evil in the Caste system and from one point of view he is right. There is love, unity and mutual aid among members of a family. There is honour among thieves. A band of robbers have common interests as respects to its members. Gangs are marked by fraternal feelings and intense loyalty to their own ends however opposed they may be to the other gangs. Following this up one can say that a Caste has got all the praiseworthy characteristics, which a society is supposed to have.

It is got the virtues of a family inasmuch as there is love unity and mutual aid. It has got the honour known to prevail among thieves. It has got the loyalty and fraternal feeling we meet with in gangs and it also possesses that sense of common interests, which is found among robbers.

A Hindu may take satisfaction in these praiseworthy characteristics of the Caste and deny that there is anything evil in it. But he forgets that his thesis that Caste is an ideal form of social organization is supportable on the supposition that each caste is entitled to regard himself as an independent society, as an end in itself as nations do. But the theory breaks down when the consideration pertains to Hindu Society and to the Caste-System, which goes with it.

Even in such a consideration of the subject the Hindu will not admit that the Caste system is an evil. Charge Hinduism with the responsibility for the evils of the Caste-system and the Hindu will at once retort, "What about the Class System in Europe?"...

.....the Hindu cannot take shelter under this analogy between the Hindu caste system and the Non-Hindu Class system and rest there as though there is nothing more to be said about the subject. The fact is there is a far bigger question, which the Hindu has still to face. He must take note of the fact that although every society consists of groups there are societies in which the groups are only non-social while there are societies in which the groups are anti-social. The difference between a

society with the class system and a society with the caste system lies just in this namely the class system is merely non-social but the caste system is positively anti-social."

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 305-306

The real method of annihilation of caste

".....unless you change your social order you can achieve little by way of progress. You cannot mobilize the community either for defence or for offence. You cannot build anything on the foundations of caste. You cannot build up a nation, you cannot build up a morality. Anything that you will build on the foundations of caste will crack and will never be a whole."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 66

".....the break up of the Caste system is bound to affect adversely the Brahmin Caste. Having regard to this, is it reasonable to expect that the **Brahmins will ever consent to lead a movement** the ultimate result of which is to destroy the power and prestige of the Brahmin Caste? Is it reasonable to expect the secular Brahmins to take part in a movement directed against the priestly Brahmins? In my judgment, it is useless to make a distinction between the secular Brahmins and priestly Brahmins. Both are kith and kin. They are two arms of the same body and one bound to fight for the existence of the other."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 70

"Caste is a notion, it is a state of the mind. The destruction of Caste does not therefore mean the destruction of a physical barrier. It means a notional change. Caste may be bad. Caste may lead to conduct so gross as to be called man's inhumanity to man. All the same, it must be recognized that the Hindus observe caste not because they are inhuman or wrong headed. They observe Caste because they are deeply religious. People are not wrong in observing Caste. In my view, what is wrong is their religion, which has inculcated this notion of Caste. If this is correct, then obviously the enemy, you must grapple with, is not the people who observe Caste, but the Shastras which teach them this religion of Caste. Criticising and ridiculing people for not inter-dining or inter-marrying or occasionally holding inter-caste dinners and celebrating inter-caste marriage, is a futile method of achieving the desired end. **The real remedy is to destroy the belief in the sanctity of the Shastras...**

"It is no use telling people that the Shastras do not say what they are believed to say, grammatically read or logically interpreted. What matter is how the Shastras have been understood by the people. You must take the stand that Buddha took. You must take the stand, which Guru Nanak took. You must not only discard the Shastras, you must deny their authority, as did Buddha and Nanak. **You must have courage to tell the Hindus, that what is wrong with them is their**

religion the religion which has produced in them this notion of the sacredness of Caste."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 68-69

22. BRAHMINS

Maker of the religion

"Why have the Brahmins made the Hindu religion so nude; so devoid of morality? The Hindu religion is nothing but worshipping so many Gods and Goddesses, worshipping so many trees, visiting so many places of pilgrimage and making offerings to the Brahmins. Was the religion formulating for enabling the Brahmins to earn their living? Did they ever think that morality is the foundation of society and that unless morality is imbedded in religion it (has no driving)* force. These are questions, which the Brahmins must answer."

* W. & S. - Vol- 4- P- 182

The Hindu priest

"The profession of a Hindu priest is the only profession, which is not subject to any code. Mentally a priest may be an idiot, physically a priest may be suffering from a foul disease, such as syphilis or gonorrhea, and morally he may be a wreck. But he is fit to officiate at solemn ceremonies, to enter the sanctum sanctorum of a Hindu temple and worship the Hindu God. All this becomes possible among the Hindus because for a priest it is enough to be born in a priestly caste."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 77

"The counts in the indictment against the hereditary Hindu priests are numerous and appalling. He is a clog on the wheel of our civilization. Man is born, he weds, becomes the father of a family and then in time dies. All along the priests shadows him like an evil genius. Deviation from draconian rules prescribed by him according to the Shastras and Smritis of his own making is punished with a terror which 99 percent are unable to withstand. Ostracism or casting out man from society is the weapon fashioned by the Devil himself. This priest wields with ruthless, relentless and inexorable vigour. I must admit the officiating Brahmin is a miserable specimen of humanity as a rule."

* W. & S. - Vol- 17 (II)- P- 3

Manufacturer of Smritis, Puranas etc.

"The Brahmin systematically preyed on society and profiteered in religion. **The Puranas and Shastras, which he manufactured in tons, are treasure trove of sharp practices**, which the Brahmin employed to befool, beguile and swindle the common mass of poor, illiterate and superstitious Hindus."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 220

"Buddha disputed their claim for supremacy and declared a war on the Brahmans. The Brahmins acted as an educated class- as distinguished from an intellectual class -would act under the circumstances. It abandoned all pursuits and engaged itself in defending the claim of supremacy and the social, economic, political interests of its class. Instead of writing books on Science, the Brahmins undertook to write Smrities. Here is an explanation why the progress of Science in India became arrested. **Brahmins found it more important and more imperative to write Smrities to repel the Buddhist doctrine of social equality."**

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 323

As a law giver

"The record of the Brahmins as lawgivers for the Shudras, for the Untouchables and for women is the blackest as compared with the record of the intellectual classes in other parts of the world. For no intellectual class has prostituted its intelligence to invent a philosophy to keep his uneducated countrymen in a perpetual state of ignorance and poverty as the Brahmins have done in India. Every Brahmin today believes in this philosophy of Brahminism propounded by his forefathers."

* W. & S. - Vol- 9- P- 216

"The Congress politicians complain that the British are ruling India by a wholesale disarmament of the people of India. But they forget that **disarmament of the Shudras and the Untouchables was the rule of law promulgated by the Brahmins.** Indeed, so strongly did the Brahmins believe in the disarmament of the Shudras and the Untouchables that when they revised the law to enable the Brahmins to arm themselves for the protection of their own privileges, they maintained the ban on the Shudras and the Untouchables as it was without lessening its rigour. If the large majority of people of India appear today to be thoroughly emasculated, spiritless, with no manliness, it is the result of the Brahmanic policy of wholesale disarmament to which they have been subjected for the untold ages."

* W. & S. - Vol- 9- P- 215-216

Fabricator of Smrities

"Some critics have gone to the length of saying that the Purusha Sukta is a forgery by the Brahmins to bolster up their claim to superiority. Priests are known to have committed many forgeries...The Brahmins of India were not free from such machinations. How they changed the original word "Agre" into "Agne" to make Rig Veda give support to the burning of widows has been pointed out by no less an authority than Prof. Max Muller. It is well known how in the time of the East India Company a whole Smriti was fabricated to support the case of the plaintiff. There is therefore nothing surprising if the **Brahmins did forge the Purusha Sukta, if not the whole at least the two versus 11 and 12 at some later stage**, long after the

fourth Varna had come into being, with a view to give the system of Chaturvarna the sanction of the Veda."

* W. & S. - Vol- 7- P- 137-38

Supporter of social evils

"There is no social evil and no social wrong to which the Brahmin does not give his support. Man's inhumanity to man, such as the feeling of caste, untouchability, unapproachability and unseeability is a religion to him. It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that only the wrongs of men are a religion to him. For the Brahmin has given his support to the worst wrongs that women have suffered from in any part of the world. Widows were burnt alive as Satis. The Brahmin gave his fullest support to Sati, the burning alive of a widow. Widows were not allowed to remarry. The Brahmin upheld the doctrine. Girls were required to be married before 8 and the husband had the right to consummate the marriage at any time thereafter, whether she had reached puberty or not did not matter. The Brahmin gave the doctrine his strongest support."

* W. & S. - Vol- 9- P- 216

Enemy of the survile classes

".....the Brahmins first. Historically they have been **the most inveterate enemy of the survile classes** (Shudras and the Untouchables) who together constitute about 80 percent of the total Hindu population. If the common man belonging to the servile classes in India is today so fallen, so degraded, so devoid of hope and ambition, it is entirely due to the Brahmins and their philosophy.

.... India is the only country where the intellectual class, namely, the Brahmins not only made education their monopoly but declared acquisition of education by the lower classes, a crime punishable by cutting off the tongue or by the pouring of molten lead in the ear of the offender."

* W &. S-Vol-9-P-215

"The Brahmins believes in the two-nation theory. He claims to be the representative of the Aryan race and **he regards the rest of the Hindus as descendents of the non-Aryans.** The theory helps him to establish his kinship with the European races and share their arrogance and their superiority. He likes particularly that part of the theory, which makes the Aryan an invader, and a conqueror of the non-Aryans native races. For it helps him to maintain and justify his overlordship over the Non-Brahmins."

* W. & S. - Vol- 7 - P- 80

".....the Brahmins claimed the power to do and undo the status of any Hindu at any time. They can raise a Shudra to the status of a Kshatriya. They can degrade the Kshatriya to the status of a Shudra. Shivaji's case proves that their sovereignty in this matter is without limit and without challenge."

* W. & S. - Vol- 7 - P- 184

As a beef eaters

"..... the case with the Brahmin was different. He was a priest. In a period overridden by ritualism there was hardly a day on which there was no cow sacrifice to which the Brahmin was not invited by some non-Brahmin. For the Brahmin every day was a beef-steak day. **The Brahmins were therefore the greatest beef-eaters.** The Yajna of the Brahmins was nothing but the Killing of innocent animals carried on in the name of religion with pomp and ceremony with an attempt to enshroud it in mystery with a view to conceal their appetite for beef."

* W. & S. - Vol- 7- P- 334

".....the Brahmins were not merely beef eaters but they were also butchers."

* W. & S. - Vol- 7- P- 341

Lived as the suppressed and depressed

"The Brahmins lost all state patronage and were neglected to a secondary and subsidiary position in the empire of Ashoka. Indeed it may be said to have been suppressed for the simple reason that Ashoka prohibited all animal sacrifices which constituted the very essence of Brahmanic religion. The Brahmins had not only lost state patronage but they lost their occupation which mainly consisted in performing sacrifices for a few which often times was very substantial and which constituted their chief source of living. The Brahmins therefore lived as the suppressed and depressed classes for nearly 140 years during which the Maurya Empire lasted."

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 268

Engineered a bloody revolution

"The murder of the Brihadratha Maurya by Pushyamitra has unfortunately passed unnoticed. At any rate it has not received the attention it deserves. It is treated by historians as an ordinary incident between two individuals as though its origin lay in some personal quarrel between the two. Having regard to its consequences it was an epoch-making event. Its significance cannot be measured by treating it as a change of dynasty the Sungas succeeding the Mauryas. It was a political revolution as great as the French Revolution, if not greater. It was a revolution - **a bloody revolution engineered by the Brahmins to overthrow the rule of the Buddhist Kings.**"

* W. & S. - Vol- 7- P- 373

Strategy to regain lost position

".....why should a Hindu King have come forward to make a law against cow- killing, that is to say, against the laws of Manu? The answer is that the Brahmins had to suspend or abrogate a requirement of their Vedic religion in order to overcome the supremacy of the Buddhist

Bhikshus. If the analysis is correct then it is obvious that the worship of the cow is the result of the struggle between Buddism and Brahminism. It was made a means adopted by the Brahmins to regains their lost position."

* W. & S. - Vol- 7 - P- 349

Became worshipper of cow

"**..... It was strategy, which made the Brahmins give up beef eating and start worshipping the cow.** The clue to the worship of the cow is to be found in the struggle between Buddhism and Brahminism and the means adopted by Brahminism to establish its supremacy over Buddhism. The strife between Buddhism and Brahminism is a crucial fact in Indian history. Without the realisation of this fact, it is impossible to explain some of the features of Hinduism."

* W. & S. - Vol- 7- P- 345

Became vegetarian

"**Why did the Brahmins became vegetarian?** The answer is that without becoming vegetarian the Brahmins could not have recovered the ground they had lost to their rival namely Buddhism. In this connection it must be remembered that there was one aspect in which Brahminism suffered in public esteem as compared to Buddhism. That was the practice of animal sacrifice, which was the essence of Brahminism and to which Buddhism was deadly opposed. That in an agricultural population there should be respect for Buddhism and revulsion against Brahminism, which involved slaughter of animals including cows and bullocks, is only natural. What could the Brahmins do to recover the lost ground? To go one better than the Buddhist Bhikshus not only to give up meat eating but to become vegetarians which they did. That this was the object of the Brahmins in becoming vegetarians can be proved in various ways."

* W. & S. - Vol- 7- P- 346-347

Only a learned man, not an itellectual

"Respect and reverence for the sacred literature of the Hindus is natural to a Brahmin scholar. But it is quite unnatural in a non-Brahmin scholar. The explanation of this difference is quite simple. That a Brahmin scholar should treat this sacred literature with uncritical reverence and forbear laying on it the heavy hands, which the detachment of an intellectual as distinguished from the merely educated is, what is to be expected. For what is this sacred literature? It is a **literature, which is almost entirely the creation of the Brahmins. Secondly, its whole object is to sustain the superiority and privileges of the Brahmins as against the non-Brahmins.** Why should not the Brahmins uphold the sanctity of such a literature? The very reason that leads the Brahmin to uphold it makes the non- Brahmin hate it. Knowing that what is called the sacred literature contains an abominable social philosophy, which is responsible for their social degradation, the non-Brahmin reacts to it in a manner quite opposite to that of the Brahmin."

* W. & S. - Vol- 7- P- 16

"The Brahmin scholar has a two-fold interest in the maintenance of the sanctity of this literature. **In the first place being the production of his forefathers his filial duty leads him to defend it even at the cost of truth. In the second place as it supports the privileges of the Brahmins, he is careful not to do anything which would undermine its authority.** The necessity of upholding the system by which he knows he stands to profit, as well as of upholding the prestige of his forefathers as the founders of the system act as a silent immaculate premise which is ever present in the mind of the Brahmin scholar and prevents him from reaching or preaching the truth."

* W. & S. - Vol- 7- P- 17

Has much less desire to become a revolutionary

"..... a man who is born a Brahmin has much less desire to become a revolutionary. Indeed, to expect a Brahmin to be a revolutionary in matters of social reform is as idle as to expect the British parliament as was said by Leslie Stephen, to pass an act requiring all blue-eyed babies to be murdered."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 70-71

"Today all scholarship is confined to the Brahmins. But unfortunately no Brahmin scholar has so far come forward to play the part of a Voltaire who had the intellectual honesty to rise against the doctrines of the Catholic Church in which he was brought up; nor is one likely to appear on the scene in the future. It is a grave reflection on the scholarship of the Brahmins that they should not have produces a Voltaire. This will not cause surprise if it is remembered that the Brahmin scholar is only a learned man. He is not an intellectual. There is a world of difference between one who is learned and one who is an intellectual. The former is class conscious and is alive to the interests of his class. The latter is an emancipated being who is free to act without being swayed by class considerations. **It is because the Brahmins have been only learned men that they have not produced a Voltaire."**

* W. & S. - Vol- 7- P- 240

"It must be recognized that the selfish interests of a person or of the class to which he belongs always acts as an internal limitation, which regulates the direction of his intellect. The power and position which the Brahmins possess is entirely due to the Hindu Civilization which treats them as superman and subjects the lower classes to all sorts of disabilities so that they may never rise and challenge or threaten the superiority of the Brahmins over them. As a natural, every Brahmin is interested in the maintenance of Brahmanic supremacy be he orthodox or unorthodox, be he a priest or a grahastha, be he a scholar or not. How can the Brahmins afford to be Voltaire? A Voltaire among the Brahmins would be a positive danger to the maintenance of a civilization, which is contrived to maintain Brahmanic supremacy. The point is that the intellect of a Brahmin scholar

is severely limited by anxiety to preserve his interests. He suffers from this internal limitation as a result of which he does not allow his intellect full plays which honesty and integrity demands. For, he fears that it may affect the interests of his class and therefore his own.

But what annoys one is the intolerance of the Brahmin scholar towards any attempt to expose the Brahmanic literature. He himself would not play the part of an iconoclast even where it is necessary. And he would not allow such non-Brahmins as have the capacity to do so to play it. If any non-Brahmins were to make such an attempt the Brahmin scholars would engage in a conspiracy of silence, take no notice of him, condemn him outright on some flimsy grounds or dub his work useless. As a writer engaged in the exposition of the Brahmanic literature I have been a victim of such mean tricks."

* W. & S. - Vol- 7- P- 240-241

As a politician

"It is in the interest of all that **the Brahmins should not play such a preponderant part in politics as he has been doing hitherto.** He has exerted a pernicious influence on the social life of the country and it is in the interest of all that his pernicious influence should be kept at a minimum in politics. **As he is the most exclusive he is most anti-social."**

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 255

"The disposition of the intelligentsia is a Brahmin disposition. Its outlook is a Brahmin outlook, though he has learned to speak in the name of all, the Brahmin leader is in no sense a leader of the people. He is a leader of his caste at best, for he feels them as he does for no other people."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 267-268

"A Brahmin will remain a Brahmin no matter what colour he assumes or what party he joins. That is because Brahmins want to maintain the system of graded social inequality. For it is this graded inequality, which has raised the Brahmins above all and to be on the top of everybody."

* W. & S. - Vol- 17(III)- P- 511

23. SHUDRAS

Different from Dasas and Dasyus

"..... it is difficult to say how anyone in his senses can say that Shudras are the same as the Dasas and Dasyus. Another fact, which is to be noted, is that the name Dasas and Dasyus completely disappear from the later Vedic literature. It means they were completely absorbed by the Vedic Aryans. But it is quite different with the Shudras. The early Vedic literature is very silent about them. But

the later Vedic literature is full of them. **This shows that the Shudras were different from Dasas and Dasyus."**

* W. & S. - Vol- 7- P- 106

Shudras were Rulers

"It cannot be said that there were no Shudra kings in later times. On the contrary history shows that the two dynasties which preceded Manu were dyanasties of Shudras kings. The Nandas who ruled from B.C.413 to B.C. 322 were Shudras. The Mauryas who succeded the Nandas and who ruled from 322 B.C. to 183 B.C. were also Shudras. What more glaring piece of evidence can there be to show the high dignity enjoyed by the Shudras than to point to the case of **Ashoka who was not merely the Emperor of India but a Shudra and his Empire was the Empire built by the Shudras."**

*W. & S. - Vol- 3-P- 422

A new thesis

"After an examination of historical material and of theories suggested by various writers ...orthodox as well as modern...I have put forth a new thesis. In the preceding chapters, it has been presented in parts for the facility of laying the foundation of each part separately. It is time these parts were assembled together for a full and complete understanding of what the thesis is. It may be summarized as follows: -

i. The Shudras were one of the Aryan communities of the solar race.

ii. The Shudras ranked as the Kshatriyas Varna in the Indo-Aryan society.

iii. There was a time when the Aryan society recognized only three Varnas, namely, Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas. The Shudras were not a separate Varna but a part of the Kshatriya Varna.

iv. There was a continuous feud between the Shudra kings and the Brahmins. In which the Brahmins were subjected to many tyrannies and indignities.

v. As a result of the hatred towards the Shudras due to their tyrannies and oppressions, the Brahmins refused to invest the Shudras with the sacred thread.

vi. Owing to the loss of the sacred thread the Shudras became socially degraded, fell below the rank of the Vaishyas and came to form the fourth Varna."

* W. & S. - Vol- 7- P- 204

Loss of Upanayana brought degradation

"When Upanayana was open to everyone, Aryan or non-Aryan, it was

not a matter of social significance. It was a common right of all. It was not a privilege of the few. Once it was denied to the Shudras, its possession became a matter of honour and its denial a badge of servility. The denial of Upanayana to the Shudras introduced a new factor in the Indo-Aryan society. It made the Shudras look up to the higher classes as their superiors and enabled the three higher classes to look down upon the Shudras as their inferiors. This is one way in which the loss of Upanayana brought about the degradation of the Shudras.....

It will be seen, from what has been said above, how the sacrament of Upanayana was in the ancient Aryan society fundamental and how the social status and personal rights of persons depended upon it. Without Upanayana, a person was doomed to social degradation, to ignorance and to poverty. The stoppage of Upanayana was a most deadly weapon-discovered by the Brahmins to avenge themselves against the Shudras. It had the effect of an atomic bomb. It did make the Shudra, to use the language of the Brahmins, a graveyard."

* W. & S. - Vol- 7- P- 171-172

"Indeed until the fifth Varna of the Untouchables came into being, the Shudras were in the eyes of the Hindus the lowest of the low."

* W. & S. - Vol- 7- P- 9

Population

".....what is the total of what we called Shudra? Nobody has ever probably made any circulation as to the total number of Shudras who go to compose the Hindu society, but I have not the slightest doubt in my mind that **the Shudras form practically 90 percent of the total population of the Hindus.** What are called the 'Regenerated' classes probably do not fill more than ten percent of the total population of this country."

* W. & S. - Vol- 14- P- 269

A sacred task

".....it is the Shudras, who have largely been instrumental in sustaining the infamous system of Chaturvarna, though it has been the primary cause of their degradation and that **only the Shudras can destroy the Chaturvarna,** it would be easy to realize why I allowed the necessity of educating and thereby preparing the Shudras fully for such a sacred task...."

* W. & S. - Vol- 7- P- 18

24. UNTOUCHABLES

The Broken men

".....the broken men were Buddhists. As such they did not revere the Brahmins, did not employ them as their priests and regarded them as

impure. The Brahmin on the other hand disliked the broken men because they were Buddhists and preached against them contempt and hatred with the result that the **Broken men came to be regarded as Untouchables.**"

* W. & S. - Vol- 7- P- 315

No racial difference

"..... the result obtained by the application of anthropometry to the various strata of Hindu society disprove that the Untouchables belong to a race different from the Aryans and the Dravidians. **The measurement establishes that the Brahmin and the Untouchables belong to the same race.**"

* W. & S. - Vol- 7- P- 302

Varna Bahyas

".....what Manu meant was there were originally four Varnas and four they must remain. He was not going to admit the Untouchables into the House the ancient Hindus had built by enlarging the varna system to consists of five Varnas. That is what he meant when he said that there is not to be a fifth Varna. That he wanted the Untouchables to remain out of the Hindu social structure is clear from the name by which he describes the Untouchables. He speaks of them as **Varna-Bahyas. (Those outside the Varna system)** That is the difference between the primitive and criminal castes and the Untouchables."

* W. & S. - Vol- 5- P- 169

"....Savarna means one who belongs to one of the four Varnas. Avarna means who does not belong to any one of the four Varnas. The Brahmins, kshatiryas, Vaishyas and Shudras are Savarnas. The Untouchables or Ati-Shudras are called Avarnas, those who have no Varna. Logically, the Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras are within the Chaturvarna. Logically, the Untouchables or the Ati-Shudras are outside the Chaturvarnaya."

* W. & S. - Vol- 7- P- 36

Not a part of the Hindu Society

".....the case of the Untouchables is different. There is positive injunction against their incorporation in Hindu society. There is no room for reform. They must remain separate and segregated without being a part of the Hindu Society. The Untouchables are not a part of the Hindu Society. And if they are a part they are a part but not of the whole. The idea showing the connection between the Hindus and the Untouchables was accurately expressed by Ainapure Shastri the leader of the orthodox Hindus at a conference held in Bombay. **He said that the Untouchables were related to the Hindus as a man is to his shoe.** A man wears a shoe. In that sense it is attached to man and may be said to be a part of

the man. But it is not part of the whole for two things that can be attached and detached can't be said to form parts of one whole. The analogy though is none the less accurate."

* W. & S. - Vol- 5- P- 169

Some pertinent questions to the protagonists

"The Untouchables can very well ask the protagonists of Hinduism the very questions which lord Balfour asked the positivists. Nay the Untouchables can ask many more. They can ask? Does Hinduism recognize their worth as human beings? Does it stand for their equality? Does it extend to them the benefit of liberty? Does it at least help to forge the bond of fraternity between them and the Hindus? Does it teach the Hindus that the Untouchables are their kindred? Does it say to the Hindus it is a sin to treat the Untouchables as being neither man nor beast? Does it tell the Hindus to be righteous to the Untouchables? Does it preach to the Hindus to be just and humane to them? Does it inculcate upon the Hindus the virtue of being friendly to them? Does it tell the Hindus to love them, to respect them and to do them no wrong. In fine, does Hinduism universalize the value of life without distinction?"

* W. & S. - Vol- 5- P- 411-412

Futile to expect about social justice

"The Untouchables should bear in mind two things. Firstly, that it is futile to expect the Hindu religion to perform the mission of bringing about social justice. Such a task may be performed by Islam, Christianity, or Buddhism. The Hindu religion is itself the embodiment of inequity and injustice to the Untouchables. For it, to preach the gospel of justice is to go against its own being. To hope for this is to hope for a miracle. Secondly, assuming that this was a task which Hinduism was fitted to perform, it would be impossible for it to perform. The social barrier between them and the Hindus is much greater than the barrier between the Hindus and their men. Religion, however efficacious it may be within a community or a nation, is quite powerless to break these barriers and (Make) them one whole."

* W. & S. - Vol- 5- P- 398

Appellation as Harijan

"Depressed classes had through several conferences voiced their opposition to the appellation, and therefore he appealed to the House not to give statutory recognition to the word "Harijan" He told the House that if they did it, they would not do so without raising protest and added; If the Untouchable classes were the people of God, were the Touchable classes assumed to belong to the monsters?"

* L & M. p-301

".....it is better that the wrong should be called by its known name. It is better for the patient to know what he is suffering from. It is better for

the wrong doer that the wrong is there still to be redressed. Any concealment will give a false sense of both as to existing facts. The new name in so far as it is concealment is fraud upon the Untouchables and a false absolution to the Hindus. Thirdly there is also the feeling that the name Harijan is indicative of pity. If the name meant 'chosen people of God' as the Jews claimed themselves to be it would have been a different matter. But to call them 'children of God' is to invite pity from their tyrants by pointing out their helplessness and their dependent condition. The more manly among the Untouchables resent the degrading implications of this new name. How great is the resentment of the Untouchables against this new name can be seen from the fact that whole body of the representatives of the Untouchables in the Bombay Legislative Assembly walked out of the House in protest when the Congress Government introduced a measure giving to the name Harijan the sanction of Law."

* W. & S. Vol. 5-p-363

Ground which justifies the conversion

"In Hinduism there is no hope for the Untouchables. But this is not the only reason why the Untouchables wish to quit Hinduism. There is another reason, which makes it imperative for them to quit Hinduism. Untouchability is a part of Hinduism. Even those who for the sake of posing as enlightened reformers deny that untouchability is a part of Hinduism are to observe untouchability. For a Hindu to believe in Hinduism does not matter. It enhances his sense of superiority by the reason of this consciousness that there are millions of Untouchables below him. But what does it mean for an Untouchable to say that he believes in Hinduism? It means that he accepts that he is an Untouchable and that he is an Untouchable is the result of Divine dispensation. For Hinduism is divine dispensation. An Untouchable may not cut the throat of a Hindu. But he cannot be expected to give an admission that he is an Untouchable and rightly so. Which Untouchable is there with soul so dead as to give such an admission by adhering to Hinduism. That Hinduism is inconsistent with the self-respect and honour of the Untouchables is the strongest groud which justifies the conversion of the Untouchables to another and nobler faith."

* W. & S. - Vol- 5- P- 412

25. UNTOUCHABILITY

Unique phenomenon and unnatural institution

"Untouchability among Hindus is thus a unique phenomenon, unknown to humanity in other parts of the world. Nothing like it is to be found in any other society-primitive, ancient or modern."

* W. & S. - Vol- 7- P- 267

"Untouchability, it may be mentioned, is an institution or social practice

that is the exclusive property of India and does not exist anywhere else in the world. In more than one sense it is an institution that is unnatural and runs counter to human psychology and social forces."

* S.M - Vol- 1- P- 212

Sources of the origin

".... the search for the origin of Untouchability has brought to the surface two sources of the origin of untouchability. One is the general atmosphere of scorn and contempt spread by the Brahmins against those who were Buddhists and the second is the habit of beef eating kept on by the Broken men."

* W. & S. - Vol- 7- P- 319

".... why the Broken men came to be regarded as Untouchables. The Broken men hated the Brahmins because the Brahmins were the enemies of Buddhism and the Brahmins imposed untouchability upon the broken men because they would not leave Buddhism. On this reasoning it is possible to conclude that one of the roots of untouchability lies in the hatred and contempt which the Brahmins created against those who were Buddhist."

* W. & S. - Vol- 7- P- 317

".....Untouchability is the result of the breach of the interdiction against the eating of the sacred animal namely, the cow."

* W. & S. - Vol- 7- P- 352

When it born ?

".... Untouchability is of comparatively recent origin and could not possibly have existed in Vedic times or for centuries after that period. There is certainly no mention of untouchability anywhere in the Vedas."

* S.M - Vol- 1- P- 212

"..... Untouchability was born some time about 400 A.D. it is born out of the struggle for supremacy between Buddhism and Brahminism, which as so completely moulded the history of India and the study of which, is so woefully neglected by students of Indian history."

* W. & S. - Vol- 7- P- 379

Class struggle

"The problem of the Untouchability is a matter of class struggle. It is a struggle between caste Hindus and the Untouchables. This is not a matter of doing injustice against one man. This is a matter of injustice being done by one class against another. This class struggle has a relation with the social status. This struggle indicates how one class should keep its relations with another class. This struggle starts as soon as you start claiming equal treatment with others."

* W. & S. - Vol- 17(III)- P- 118

"Untouchability may be a misfortune to the Untouchables. But there is no doubt that it is a good fortune to the Hindus. It gives them a class, which they can look down upon. The Hindus do not want a system in which nobody will be anybody. They also do not want a system in which everybody may be somebody. They want a system in which they will be some bodies and others will be nobodies. The Untouchables are nobodies. This makes the Hindus some bodies. The system of untouchability sustains the natural pride of the Hindus and makes them feel as well as look big. This is an additional reason why the Hindus are not likely to give up untouchability particularly those large majorities who are small men."

* W. & S. - Vol- 5- P- 102

Observance as an act of religious merit

"....The old orthodox Hindu doesn't think that there is anything wrong is the observance of untouchability. To him it is a normal and natural thing. As such it neither calls for expiation nor explanation. The new modern Hindu realizes the wrong, but he is ashamed to discuss it in public for fear of letting the foreigner know that Hindu Civilization can be guilty of such a vicious and infamous system of social code as evidenced by untouchability."

* W. & S. - Vol- 7- P- 241

"The Hindu looks upon the observance of untouchability as an act of religious merit, and non-observance of it as sin. My view therefore is that **so long as this notion prevails untouchability will prevail.**"

* W. & S. - Vol- 2- P- 494

".....the Hindus observes untouchability it is because his religion enjoins him to do so. If he is ruthless and lawless in putting down the Untouchables rising against his established order. It is because his religion not only tells him that the established order is divine and therefore sacrosanct but also imposes upon him a duty to see that this established order is maintained by all means possible. If he does not listen to the call of humanity, it is because his religion does not enjoin him to regard the Untouchables as human beings. If he does not feel any qualms of conscience in assaulting, looting, burning and other acts of atrocities against the Untouchables it is because his religion tells him that nothing is sin which is done in defence of the social order."

* W. & S. - Vol- 5- P- 90

"Untouchability, so far as I understand it is a kind of a mental disease of the Hindus. It is not a disease from which I am suffering, not any tumour which I have got, not a rheumatic pain or any of the physical disabilities which can be removed but it is a mental twist; every Hindu believes that to observe untouchability is the right thing. I do not understand how my friend is going to untwist the twist which the Hindus have got for thousands of years; unless they are all sent to some kind of a mental

hospital..... Manu, in his law book, very definitely prescribes untouchability. ..... that the Untouchables shall live outside the village, that they shall have only earthen pots, that they shall not have clean clothes, that they shall beg for their foods and so on and I cannot see how you blame the Hindus. For thousands of years, by the teaching of this dirty law they have got inculcated in their mind the doctrine that untouchability is a most sacred thing."

* W. & S. - Vol- 15- P- 909

Untouchability and slavery

"..... there are differences between untouchability and slavery, which makes untouchability a worse type of an unfree social order. Slavery was never obligatory. But untouchability is obligatory. A person is permitted to hold another as his slave. There is no compulsion on him if he does not want to. But an Untouchable has no option. Once he is born an Untouchable he is subject to all the disabilities of an Untouchable. The law of slavery permitted emancipation. Once a slave always a slave was not the fate of the slave. In untouchability there is no escape. Once an Untouchable always an Untouchable. The other difference is that **untouchability is an indirect and therefore the worst form of slavery.** A deprivation of a man's freedom by an open and direct way is a preferable form of enslavement. It makes the slave conscious of his enslavement and to become conscious of slavery is the first and most important step in the battle for freedom. But if a man is deprived of his liberty indirectly he has no consciousness of his enslavement. Untouchability is an indirect form of slavery."

* W. & S. - Vol- 5- P- 15

"..... Untouchability has all the disadvantages of a free social order. In a free social order the responsibility for survival in the struggle for existence lies on the individual. This responsibility is one of the greatest disadvantages of a free social order. Whether an individual is able to carry out this responsibility depends upon fair start, equal opportunity and square deal. The Untouchable, while he is free individual, had neither fair start, nor equal opportunity nor square deal. From this point of view, **untouchability is not only worse than slavery but is positively cruel as compared to slavery."**

* W. & S. - Vol- 5- P- 17

".....the personality, which the law withheld from the slave, was bestowed upon him by society. **There lies a profound difference between slavery and untouchability.** In the case of the Untouchables just the opposite has happened. The personality, which the law bestowed upon the Untouchables, is withheld by society. In the case of the slave the law by refusing to recognize him as a person could do him no harm because society recognized him more amply than it was called upon to do. In the case of the Untouchables the law by recognizing him as a person failed to do him any good because Hindu Society is determined to set that recognition at naught. A slave had a

personality, which counted notwithstanding the command of the law. **An Untouchable has no personality in spite of the command of the law. This distinction is fundamental."**

* W. & S. - Vol- 12- P- 753

Removal of untouchability?

".....the idea of hoping to remove untouchability without destroying the caste system is an utter futility. The underlying idea that caste and untouchability are two different things is founded on a fallacy. The two are one and are inseparable. Untouchability is only an extension of the caste system. There can be no severance between the two. The two stand together and will fall together."

* W. & S. - Vol- 5- P- 101

"Not having conscience, the Hindu has no such thing in him as righteous indignation against the inequalities and injustices from which the Untouchables has been suffering. He sees no wrong in these inequalities and injustices and refuses to budge. By his absence of conscience **the Hindu is a great obstacle in the path of the removal of untouchability."**

* W. & S. - Vol- 5- P- 99

"Untouchability will vanish only when the whole of the Hindu social order, particularly the caste system will be dissolved. Is this possible? Every institution is sustained by some sort of a sanction. There are three kinds of sanction, which supply life force to an institution. They are legal, social and religious. The vitality of the institution depends upon the nature of the sanction. What is the nature of the sanction behind the caste system? Unfortunately, the sanction behind the caste system is the religious sanction, for the caste as a new form of the Varna system derives its sanction from the Vedas which form the sacred book of the Hindu religion and which are infallible. I say unfortunately because anything, which has a religious sanction, becomes by virtue of it sacred and eternal. To the Hindu, caste is sacred and caste is eternal. If caste cannot vanish what hope is there for untouchability to disappear?"

* W. & S. - Vol- 5- P- 102

Conversion the remedy

".....whether conversion can solve the problem of untouchability. The answer to that question is emphatically in the affirmative.

The force of the argument, of course, rests on a view of religion, which is somewhat different from the ordinary view according to which religion is concerned with man's relation to God and all that it means. According to this view, religion exists not for the saving of souls but for the preservation of society and the welfare of the individual. It is only those who accept the former view of religion that find it difficult to understand how conversion

can solve the problem of untouchability. Those who accept the view of religion adopted in this.....will have no difficulty in accepting the soundness of the conclusion."

* W. & S. - Vol- 5- P- 420-421

26. BRAHMINISM

Defined

"I do not want to be misunderstood when I say that Brahminism is an enemy, which I must be dealt with. By Brahminism I do not mean the power, privileges and interests of the Brahmins as a community. That is not the sense in which I am using the word. **By Brahminism I mean the negation of the spirit of liberty, equality and fraternity.** In that sense it is rampant in all classes and is not confined to the Brahmins alone though they have been the originators of it."

* S.M - Vol- 1- P- 165

Aim

".....the creation of the caste system was end and aim of Brahminism. Brahminism enacted the prohibitions against intermarriage and interdining. But Brahminism introduced other changes in the social system and if the purposes underlying these changes are those which I suggest them to be, then it must be admitted that Brahminism was so keen in sustaining the caste system that it did not mind whether ways and means employed were fair or unfair, moral or immoral,"

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 293

Literature

".... the literature of Brahminism which grew up after its political triumph under Pushyamitra.

...falls under six categories (1) Manu Smiriti (2) Gita (3) Shankaracharya's vedant (4) Mahabharata (5) Ramayana and (6) the Puranas."

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 239

The creed

"The creed of Brahminism may be summed up in the following dogmas:

i. Belief in the Chaturvarnaya
ii. Sanctity and infallibility of the Vedas.
iii. Sacrifices to Gods the only way to salvation."

* W. & S. - Vol- 4- P- 285

The deeds or misdeeds

"The deeds or misdeeds of this triumphant Brahminism may be catalogued under seven heads.

i. It established the right of the Brahmin to rule and commit regicide.

ii. It made the Brahmins a class of privileged persons.

iii. It converted the Varna into caste.

iv. It brought about a conflict and anti-social feeling between the different castes.

v. It degraded the Shudras and the women.

vi. It forged the system of graded inequality and

vii. It made legal and rigid the social system, which was conventional and flexible."

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 275

The techniques of suppression

"If the common man belonging to the service classes in India is today so fallen, so degraded, so devoid of hope and ambition, it is entirely due to the Brahmins and their philosophy. The cardinal principles of this philosophy of Brahminism were six- to use correct expression techniques of suppression.

1.) Graded inequality between the different classes.

2.) Complete disarmament of the Shudras and the Untouchables;

3.) Complete ban on the education of the Shudras and the Untouchables;

4.) Total exclusion of the Shudras and the Untouchables from places of power and authority,

5.) Complete prohibition against the Shudras and the Untouchables acquiring property and,

6.) Complete subjugation and suppression of women. Inequality is the official doctrine of Brahminism and the suppression of the lower classes aspiring to equality has been looked upon by them and carried out by them, without remorse as their bounden duty."

* W. & S. - Vol- 9- P- 467- 468

Graded inequality prevent revolution against Brahminism

"None have realised that in addition to equality and inequality there is such a thing as graded inequality. Yet inequality is not half so dangerous as graded inequality. Inequality carried within itself the seeds of its own destruction. Inequality does not last long. Under pure and simple inequality two things happen. It creates general discontent, which forms the seed of revolution. Secondly it makes the sufferers combine against a common foe and on a common grievance. But the nature and circumstances of the system of graded inequality leave no room for either of these two things to happen. The system of graded inequality prevents the rise of general

discontent against inequity. It cannot therefore become the storm centre of revolution. Secondly the sufferers under inequality becoming unequal both in terms of the benefit and the burden there is no possibility of a general combination of all classes to overthrow the inequity. .....**why there has been no revolution against Brahminism and its inequities is due entirely to the principle of graded inequality.**"

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 320

".....Brahminism was keen on preventing united action by Non-Brahmins to overthrow Brahminism and that is why Brahminism brought about this segmentation of Indian society. But the fatal effects of a poison can never be confined to the limits of the original intention of the perpetrator. The same thing has happened in the case of caste, Brahminism intended to paralyze the Non-Brahmins for action against Brahmins. It did not design that they as a nation should be paralyzed for action against a foreign nation. But the result of the poison of caste has been they have become stricken for action against Brahminism as well as against foreigners. In other words Brahminism in instituting caste system has put the greatest impediment against the growth of nationalism."

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 304

India became a decaying nation

"The woman represents one half of the population. Of the balance the Shudra represents not less than two third. The two together make up about 75% of the total population. It is this huge mass of people that has been doomed by Brahminism to eternal servility and eternal degradation. It is because of the colossal scale of degradation whereby 75% of her people were deprived of their right to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness that India became a decaying if not a dead nation."

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 317

Shrewd adaptability saved Brahminism

"Brahminism was in the grip of mortal fear. In fact it would have been wiped out had it not been for the shrewd adaptability of the Brahmins who were prepared to throw overboard every social and religious institution which they had championed for centuries and on which they had flourished for ages if only Brahminism could be saved.

.... How did the Brahminism save itself from the surging tide of Buddhism? It straightway gave up all the sacrificial and ceremonial part of Hinduism. The cow that was slaughtered so far was, to outbid Buddha, covered with the highest sanctity.

The meat eating Brahmin became a strict vegetarian. Wine bibbing came to an end. Hinduism assumed a puritanical covering."

* S.M. - Vol- 1- P- 213

Survile classes expect destruction of Brahminism

".....is social amelioration the be all and end all of swaraj? Speaking for the survile classes. I have no doubt that what they expect to happen in a sovereign and free India is a complete destruction of Brahminism as a philosophy of life and as a social order."

* W. & S. - Vol- 9- P- 212

27. MAHAD SATYAGRAHA

(Conference at Mahad on March 19 and 20,1927.)

"...No lasting progress can be achieved unless we put ourselves through a three-fold process of purification. We must improve the general tone of our demeanor, re-tone our pronunciations and revitalize our thoughts...It is high time that we rooted out from our mind the ideas of highness and lowness among ourselves...We will attain self-elevation only if we learn self-help, regain our self-respect, and gain self-knowledge.....that it was utterly disgraceful to sell their human rights for a few crumbs of bread, and appealed to them fervently to do away with the humiliating, enslaving traditions, to abandon their Vatans and seek forest lands for agricultural pursuits..."There will be no difference between parents and animals if they will not desire to see their children in a better position than their own." (Part of speech)

* W. & S.Vol. -17(I) - p - 4-5

Conference at Mahad held on the 25 th December 1927
Struggle for Equality

"This Conference is held to unfurl the banner of Equality and thus may be likened to the National Assembly in France convened in 1789. Our conference aims at the same achievement in social religious, civic and economic matters. We are avowedly out to smash the steel frame of the caste - system."

Low aim is a crime

"Some men may say that this should be satisfied with the abolition of untouchability only, leaving the caste system alone. The aim of abolishing untouchability alone without trying to abolish the inequalities inherent in the castes - system is a very low aim. Let us remember " not failure but low aim is a crime "

... Even supposing that the stigma of Untouchability is wiped out, what will be the status of the present Untouchables. At the most they will be treated as 'Shudras'. And what are the rights of the 'Shudras'? The 'Smrities' treat them as mere zealots and the 'Smrities' are the guides of the caste Hindus in the matter of gradations in the caste system. Are you willing to be treated as 'Shudras'? Are you willing to

accept the position of Zealots? Are you prepared to leave your fate in the hands of the upper class?"

Self - Help

"That the caste system must be abolished if the Hindu Society is to be reconstructed on the basis of equality goes without saying. Untouchability has its roots in the caste-system. They cannot expect the Brahmins to rise in revolt against the caste system, because that system confers on them certain special privileges and they will not willingly give up their privileged position and the present supremacy in the hierarchy of Hinduism as based on 'Smrities'. It would be too much to expect them to resign all their privileges as the 'Samurais' of Japan did. Also we cannot rely upon the Non-Brahmins and ask them to fight our battle. Many of them are still enamoured of the caste system and are tools in the hands of the Brahmins, and most of these others who resent the supremacy of the Brahmins, are more interested in Leveling down the Brahmins than in Leveling up the suppressed classes. They too want a class of people on whom they can look down and have the satisfaction of not being quite the underdogs of the Society. This means that we ourselves must fight our battles relying on ourselves....."

A real service to the Nation

"Ours is a movement, which aims at not only removing our own disabilities, but also at bringing about a social revolution, a revolution that will remove all man made barriers of caste by providing equal opportunities to all to rise to the highest position and making no distinction between man and man so far as civic rights are concerned. If we achieve success in our movement to unite all the Hindus in a single caste we shall have rendered the greatest service to the Indian nation in general and to the Hindu community in particular. The present caste system with its invidious distinction and unjust dispensations is one of the greatest sources of our communal and national weakness. Our movement stands for strength and solidarity; for equality, liberty and fraternity. ... We refuse to be controlled and bound by the 'Shastras ' and Smrities ' composed in the dark ages and base our claims on justice and humanity."

(Part of speech dated 25/12/1927)

Burn Manusmriti

The first resolution passed ran as follows: -

"Taking into consideration the remarks in the Manusmriti and such other books which are most vulgar and which most flagrantly violate the human rights, this meeting condemns them emphatically and as an expression of that condemnation resolves to burn them and makes the following declaration of rights to form the basis of reconstruction of Hindu Society.

The declaration stated that all Hindus should be considered as one of Varna and should be recognized and called as such and law should be enacted prohibiting the use of class words as Brahmin Kshatriya etc."

* W. & S. Vol. -17(I) - p - 21-24

"The Bonfire of Manusmriti was quite intentional. We made a bonfire of it because we view it as a symbol of injustice under which we have been crushed across centuries. Because of its teaching, we have been ground down under despicable poverty and so we made the clash, staked all, took our lives in our hands and performed the deed."

* W. & S. - Vol- 17(I)- P- 25

28. KALARAM TEMPLE SATYAGRAHA

".....today, we are about to enter the Temple. But the entry in the Temple would not solve the whole problem. Our problem is comprehensive. It is political, social, religious, economic, educational etc. The issue of Kalaram Temple entry is a appeal to the Hindu mind. The high caste Hindus deprived us from the far ages. Whether the same Hindus are willing to grant our humanitarian rights will be the question raised from this Temple entry Satyagraha. Whether the Hindu mind is willing to accept us as human beings, this is the question to be tested through this Satyagraha. The high caste Hindus looked down upon us and treated us even worse than cats and dogs. We wish to know whether those very Hindus would give us the status of man or not. This Satyagraha will provide answer to this question. This Satyagraha is one of the efforts for bringing about a change of heart among the high caste Hindus. Hence the success of this effort depends on the Hindu mind-set.

Our real problem is not going to be solved by the entry into Ram temple. It will not bring about any radical change in our life. But this is a test to judge the high caste Hindu mind. Whether the Hindu mind is willing to accept the elevated aspirations of the new era that "man must be treated as man; he must be given humanitarian rights; human dignity should be established " is going to be tested. In order to achieve this goal, we have launched this satyagraha. The main question is whether the high caste Hindus are going to consider these aspects and act accordingly.

We know that in this temple resides God made of stone. By having a mere glance at him or by worshiping him, our problem will not be solved completely. Millions of people might have visited this temple and have had a glance at the God uptil now. But who would say that their basic problem was solved by this act? We know this. But our Satyagraha today is an effort to bring about a change of heart among the Hindus. With this principled position we are launching this Satyagraha" (Part of speech on March 2nd 1930 at Nasik)

* W. & S. - Vol- 17(I)- P- 182

29. SOCIAL REVOLUTION

Revolution-the mother of philosophy

"Revolution is the mother of philosophy and if it is not the mother of philosophy it is a lamp, which illuminates philosophy."

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 8

The outbreak

"The outbreak of a revolution is conditioned by three factors:

i. The existence of a sense of wrong.
ii. Capacity to know that one is suffering from a wrong and
iii. Availability of arms."

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 126

Political revolutions preceded by social and religious revolutions

".....generally speaking history bears out of proposition that political revolutions have always been preceded by social and religious revolutions. The religious reformation started by Luther was the precursor of the political emancipation of the European people. In England Puritanism led to the establishment of political liberty. Puritanism founded the new world. It was Puritanism, which won the war of American independence, and Puritanism was a religious movement. The same is true of the Muslim Empire. Before the Arabs became a political power they had undergone a through religious revolution started by the Prophet Mohammed. Even Indian history supports the same conclusion. The political revolution led by Chandragupta was preceded by the religious and social revolution of Buddha. The political revolution led by Shivaji was preceded by the religious and social reform brought about by the saints of Maharashtra. The Political revolution of the Sikhs was preceded by the religious and social revolution led by Gurunanak. It is unnecessary to add more illustrations. These will suffice to show **that the emancipation of the mind and the soul is a necessary preliminary for the political expansion of the people."**

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 44

Rebellions against social reform

"There was one rebellion in 1801, which was known as the Vellore mutiny. There was another rebellion in 1857. It was known as the Sepoy Mutiny. The Vellore Mutiny was a small flame. But the Sepoy Mutiny was a conflagration. **In both cases the cause alleged was an interference with the religious practices of the Hindus.** Two rebellions are enough to teach a lesson and the lesson of these two rebellions was not lost upon the British Government. The Vellore Mutiny of 1801 had made the British Government cautious in the matter of social innovations. **The Sepoy mutiny of 1857 made hostile to any kind of social reform.** The British

did not want to take any risk and from their point of view the risk was very great. The Mutiny made them so panicky that they felt that loss of India was the surest consequence of social reform and as they were anxious to keep India they refused to look at any project of social reform."

* W. & S. - Vol- 12- P- 143

The only way of stopping the exploitation

"Most social reformers, whether religious or rational, seem to imagine that men of power will immediately check their pretensions and their exactions as soon as they have been told that their actions and attitudes are anti-social. But as **Prof. Neibhur points out what these reformers overlook is an understanding of the brutal character of the behaviour of all human groups and the power of self interest and collective egoism which dominate all group relations.** They also forget the fact that races, nations and classes are less moral than individuals, which compose them, and that justice between groups can therefore not be achieved purely by educational means. If conscience and reason can be insinuated into the resulting struggle they can only qualify, never abolish the injustice. **If injustice is to be abolished it must be resisted and when injustice proceeds from collective power, whether in the form of imperialism or class domination, it must be challenged by power.** A class entrenched behind its established power can never be dislodged unless power is raised against it. That is the only way of stopping the exploitation of the week by strong."

* W. & S. - Vol- 5- P- 375

Why have there not been social revolutions in India?

"There have been social revolutions in other countries of the world. Why have there not been social revolutions in India is a question which has incessantly troubled me. There is only one answer, which I can give and it is that, the lower classes of Hindus have been completely disabled for direct action on account of this wretched system of Chaturvarnaya. They could not bear arms and without arms they could not rebel. They were all ploughmen or rather condemned to be ploughmen and they were not allowed to convert their ploughshares into swords. They had no bayonets and therefore everyone who chose ploughs did sit upon them. On account of the Chaturvarnaya they could receive no education. They could not think out or know the way to their salvation. They were condemned to be lowly and not knowing the way of escape and not having the means of escape, they became reconciled to eternal servitude which they accepted as their inescapable fate. It is true that even in Europe the strong has not shrunk from the exploitation, nay the spoliation of the weak but in Europe, the strong have never contrived to make the weak helpless against exploitation so shamelessly as was the case in India among the Hindus. Social war has been raging between the strong and the weak far more violently in Europe than it has ever been in India. Yet the weak in Europe has had in him freedom of military services his physical weapon ,

in suffrage his political weapon and in education his moral weapon. Three weapons, for emancipation were never withheld by the strong from the weak in Europe. All these weapons were however denied to the masses in India by Chaturvarnaya. There cannot be a more degrading system of social organizations than Chaturvarnaya."

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 70

"In a social system based on inequality, the low order can combine to overthrow the system. None of them have any interest to preserve it. **In a social system based on graded inequality the possibility of a general common attack by the aggrieved parties is non-existent.** In a system of graded inequality, the aggrieved parties are not on a common level. This can happen only when they are only high and low. In the system of graded inequality there are the highest (the Brahmins) below the highest are the higher (the Kshatriyas). Below the higher are those who are high (Vaishya). Below the high are the low (Shudra) and below the low are those who are lower (the Untouchables). All have a grievance against the highest and would like to bring about their downfall. But they will not combine. The higher is anxious to get rid of the highest but does not wish to combine with the high, the low and the lower, lest they should reach his level and be his equal. The high wants to overthrow the higher who is above him but does not want to join hands with the low and the lower, lest they should rise to his status and become equal to him in rank. The low is anxious to pull down the highest, the higher and the high but he would not make a common cause with the lower for fear of the lower gaining a higher status and becoming his equal. In the system of graded inequality there is no such class as completely unprivileged class except the one, which is at the base of the social pyramid. The privileges of the rest are graded. Even the low is a privileged class as compared with the lower. Each class being privileged, every class is interested in maintaining the social system."

* W. & S. - Vol- 5- P- 101-102

"It is obvious that these three classes are naturally allies. There is every ground for them to combine for the destruction of the Hindu social order. But they have not. It is not that no attempt has been made to unite them. The non- Brahmin party which held the field between 1919-1935 was an attempt to unite them into one political organization to destroy the dominance of the Brahmins who are the architects of the Hindu social order and being the chief beneficiaries of it are its strongest supporters.

...The Shudras and the Criminal and Primitive Tribes are more hostile to the Untouchables than they are to the Brahmins. **Indeed it is the Shudras who act as the police force of the Brahmins for repelling the attack of the Untouchables on the Hindu social order**. This is a strange phenomenon. But it is a fact.

...If the Hindu social order was based on inequality, it would have been over thrown long ago. But it is based on graded inequality so that

the Shudra while he is anxious to pull down the Brahmin, he is not prepared to see the Untouchable raised to his level. He prefers to suffer the indignities heaped upon him by the Brahmins to join the Untouchables for a general leveling down of the social order. The result is that, there is nobody to join the Untouchable in his struggle. He is completely isolated . Not only is he isolated he is opposed by the very classes who ought to be his natural allies."

* W. & S. - Vol- 5- P- 115-116

We are aimed at a great social revolution

"Ours is a movement which aims at not only removing our disabilities, but also at bringing about a social revolution, a revolution that will remove all man-made barriers of caste by providing equal opportunities to all to rise to the highest position and making no distinction between man and man so far as civic rights are concerned...

Our movement stands for strength and solidarity; for equality, liberty and fraternity. We wish to carry on our movement as peaceful as we can. However, our determination to remain non-violent will to a large extent depend upon the attitude of our opponents. We are not the aggressors and our oppressors for generations should accuse us of aggression a strange thing. We refuse to be controlled and bound by the 'Shastras' and ' Smrities' composed in the dark ages and base our claims on justice and humanity.....

The Untouchables wanted the abolition of Varnashrama and desired to lay down the principles that the rights, responsibilities, and status shall be determined not by the accident of birth but by merit alone. **The "Untouchables "aimed at a great social revolution."**

* S.M - Vol- 1- P- 16-17

"The non-Brahmins party was doing nothing new. It was merely turning Manu Smriti upside down. It was turning the tables. It was putting the Brahmin in the position in which Manu had placed the Shudra. Did not Manu give privileges to Brahmin merely because he was a Brahmin? Did not Manu deny any right to the Shudra even though he deserved it? Can there be much complaint if now the Shudra is given some privileges because he is a Shudra? It may sound absurd but **the rule is not without precedent and that precedent is the Manu Smriti itself**. And who can throw stones at the non-Brahmin party? The Brahmins may if they are without sin. But can the authors and worshippers, upholders of Manu Smriti claim that they are without sin?"

* W. & S. - Vol- 12- P- 724

"Buddhism was revolution. It was as great a revolution as the French Revolution. Though it began as a religious revolution, it became more than religious revolution. It became a social and political revolution."

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 153

30. THE BUDDHA

Renunciation

He had left his people for what ?, he asked himself.

He had left his home because he was opposed to war." Now that the war is over is there any problem left to me? Does my problem end because war has ended?"

On a deep reflection he thought not.

" The problem of war is essentially a problem of conflict. It is only a part of a larger problem.

"This conflict is going on not only between kings and nations but between nobles and Brahmins, between householders, between mother and son, between son and mother, between father and son, between sister and brother, between companion and companion.

"The conflict between nations is occasional. But the conflict between classes is constant and perpetual. It is this, which is the root of all sorrow and suffering in the world.

" True, I left home on account of war. But I cannot go back home although the war between the Sakyas and Koliyas has ended. I see now that my problem has become wider. I have to find a solution for this problem of social conflict.

" How far do the old-established philosophies offer a solution of this problem?

Can he accept any one of the social philosophies?

He was determined to examine everything for himself.

* W. & S. Vol-11-P-57-58

First in respect of the following

1. Reformer

"The first Social Reformer and the greatest of them all is Gautama Buddha. Any history of social reform must begin with him and no history of social reform in India will be complete which omits to take account of his great achievements."

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 165

2. Founder of religion

"Never in the history of the world has any founder of religion taught that the recognition of human suffering was the real basis of religion.

"Never in the history of the world has any founder of religion taught that the removal of this misery is the real purpose of it.

"Never in the history of the world had a scheme of salvation been put

forth, so simple in its nature, so free from the supernatural and superhuman agency, so independent of, even so antagonistic to, the belief in a soul, to the belief in God and to the belief in life after death !

"Never in the history of the world had a scheme of religion been put forth which had nothing to do with revelation and whose commands are born of the examination of the social needs of man and which are not the orders of a God!"

* W. & S. - Vol- 11- P- 131

3. Preacher of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity

"Buddha was the first person to preach the message of liberty, equality, and fraternity in the history of the world. They had lost because the revolution was so overwhelmed by the counter-revolution. They have also lost the spirit of rationalism, and that was the reason why the whole of the Hindu Society was in grossest superstition; idolatry and all sorts of evil practices, which were practiced in the name of the religion. Buddha's rationalistic approach to truth had been lost. Today they were in the grip of counter revolutionaries. The gospel of the counter revolutionaries is the Bhagvat Geeta and Manu Smruti."

* W. & S. - Vol- 17(III)- P- 336

Test for accepting the word of the Buddha

"One has...to be very careful in accepting what is said in the Buddhist canonical literature as begin the word of the Buddha.

There is however one test which is available. If there is any thing, which could be said with confidence, it is; He was nothing if not rational, if not logical. Anything therefore which is rational and logical, other things being equal, may be taken to be the word of the Buddha.

The second thing is that the Buddha never cared to enter into a discussion, which was not profitable for man's welfare. Therefore anything attributed to the Buddha which did not relate to man's welfare cannot be accepted to be the word of the Buddha.

There is a third test. It is that the Buddha divided all matters into two classes. Those about which he was certain and those about which he was not certain. One matter which fell into class. He has stated his views definitely and conclusively. On matters which fell into class II, he has expressed his views. But they are only tenta\tive views."

* W. & S. - Vol- 11- P- 351

Distinguishing feature of his teachings

i. The first distinguishing feature of his teachings lay in the recognition of the mind as the centre of everything.

ii. Mind precedes things, dominates them, and creates them. If mind is comprehend all things are comprehended.

iii. Mind is the leader of all its faculties. Mind is the chief of all its faculties. The very mind is made up those faculties
iv. The first thing to attend to is the culture of the mind.
v. The second distinguishing feature of his teachings is that mind is the fount of all the good and evil that arises within and befalls us from without.
vi. Whatsoever there is of evil, connected with evil, belonging to evil...that issues from the mind. Whatsoever there is of good, connected with good, belonging to good...all issues from mind.
vii. If one speaks or acts with a pounded mind then affliction follows him as the wheels of the cart follow the feet of the bullocks who pull the cart. The cleaning of the mind is, therefore, the essence of religion.
viii. The third distinguishing feature of his teachings is the avoidence of all sinfull acts.
ix. The fourth distinguishing feature of his teachings is that real religion lies not in the books of religion but in the observance of the **tenets of the religion.**

* W. & S. - Vol- 11- P- 105

His tenets

"The Buddha is generally associated with the doctrine of Ahimsa. That is taken to be the be all and end all of his teachings. Hardly any one knows that what the Buddha taught is something very vast; far beyond Ahimsa. It is therefore necessary to set out in detail his tenets. I enumerate them below as I have understood them from my reading of the Tripitaka:

i. Religion is necessary for a free society.
ii. Not every religion is worth having.
iii. Religion must relate to facts of life and not to theories and speculations about God or Soul or Heaven or Earth.
iv. It is wrong to make God the centre of religion.
v. It is wrong to make salvation of the soul as the centre of religion.
vi. It is wrong to make animal sacrifices to be the centre of religion.
vii. Real religion lives in the heart of man and not in the Shastras.
viii. Man and mortality must be the centre of religion. If not religion is a cruel superstition.
ix. It is not enough for morality to be the ideal of life, since there is no God it must become the law of life.
x. The function of religion is to reconstruct the world and to make it happy and not to explain its origin or its end.
xi. That the unhappiness in the world is due to conflict of interests and the only way to solve it is to follow the Asthanga Marga.
xii. That private ownership of property brings power to one class and sorrow to another.
xiii. That it is necessary for the good of society that this sorrow be removed by removing its cause.

xiv. All human beings are equal.
xv. Worth and not birth is the measure of man.
xvi. What is important is high ideals and not noble birth.
xvii. Maitri or fellowship towards all must never be abandoned. One owes it even to one's enemy.
xviii. Everyone has a right to learn. Learning is as necessary for men to live as food is.
xix. Learning without character is dangerous.
xx. Nothing is infallible. Nothing is binding forever. Every thing is subject to inquiry and examination.
xxi. Nothing is final.
xxii. Every thing is subject to the law of causation.
xxiii. Nothing is permanent or sanatan. Every thing is subject to change. Being is always becoming.
xxiv. War is wrong unless it is for truth and justice.
xxv. The victor has duties towards the vanquished.

This is the creed of the Buddha in a summary form. How ancient but how fresh - how wide and how deep are his teachings."

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 441

His social message

"What are the teachings of the Buddha? This is a question on which no two followers of the Buddha or the students of Buddhism agree.

To some samadhi is his principal teaching
To some it is Vippassana. (A kind of pranayam)
To some Buddhism is esoteric. To others it is exoteric...

.....

This divergence of views is astonishing.

Some of these views are those of men who have a fancy for certain things. Such are those who regard that the essence of Buddhism lies in Samadhi or Vippassana or Esoterism.

The other views are the results of the fact that the majority of the writers on Buddhism are students of ancient Indian history. Their study of Buddhism is incidental and occasional. Some of them are not students of Buddhism. They are not even students of anthropology...

The question that arises is...."Did the Buddha have no social message?"

When pressed for an answer, students of Buddhism refer to the two points, they say....

"The Buddha taught Ahimsa"
"The Buddha taught peace".
Asked.."Did the Buddha give any other social message?"
"Did the Buddha teach Justice?"

"Did the Buddha teach love?"
"Did the Buddha teach Liberty?"
"Did the Buddha teach equality?"
"Did the Buddha teach fraternity?"
"Could the Buddha answer Karl Marx?"

These questions are hardly ever raised in discussing the Buddha's Dhamma.

My answer is that the Buddha has a social message."

* W. & S. - Vol- 11- P- 225-226

Denied Vedas as sacred

"He denied that the Vedas were sacred. He denied that whatever the Vedas said was final. He denied that the Vedas were infallible....

.....In the Tvijja sutta the Buddha declared that the Vedas were a waterless desert, a pathless jungle, in fact perdition. No man with intellectual and moral thirst can go to the Vedas and hope to satisfy his thirst.

As to infallibility of the Vedas he said nothing is infallible not even the Vedas, Everything...must be subject to examination and reexamination."

* W. & S. - Vol- 11- P- 275

"In his view the Vedas were as worthless as a desert. The Buddha, therefore, discarded the Mantras as a source from which to learn or to borrow.

Similarly, the Buddha did not find anything in the philosophy of the Vedic Rishis. They were grouping to reach the truth. But they had not reached it."

* W. & S. - Vol- 11- P- 83

Opposed Chaturvarnaya

"The theory of Chaturvarnaya was as repugnant to the Buddha as the theory of sacrifices was repulsive to him.

The organization of society set up by Brahmanism in the name of Chaturvarnaya did not appear to him a natural organization. Its class composition was compulsory and arbitrary. It was a society made to order. He preferred an open society and a free society.....

.....

...graded inequality, the Buddha thought, might produce in society an ascending scale of hatred and a descending scale of contempt, and might be a source of perpetual conflict...

.....

On a careful review of the rules of Chaturvarnaya the Buddha had no

difficulty in coming to the conclusion that the philosophic foundations on which the social order was reared by Brahmanism were wrong if not selfish"

* W &. S-Vol-11-P-90-91

Upholded equality

"Buddha levelled up the position of the Shudras and the low caste men by admitting them to the highest rank namely that of Bhikkus, he also levelled up the position of women. In the Aryan Society women were placed on the same position as the Shudras and in all Aryan literature women and Shudras are spoken of together as persons belongings to the same status. Both of them were denied the right to take sanyas, as sanyas was the only way open to salvation. Women and Shudras were beyond salvation. Buddha broke this Aryan rule in the case of women as he did in the case of the Shudras."

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 221

"I hold that women are as much capable as men in the matter of reaching Nibbana. Ananda! Do not misunderstand me I am not an upholder of the doctrines of sex inequality. My rejection of Mahaprajapati's request is not based on sex inequality. It is based on practical grounds."

* W. & S. - Vol- 11- P- 195

"Over two thousand five hundred years ago Buddha denounced caste. Preaching incessantly that a man's worth is to be judged by his deeds and not birth. For centuries thereafter caste was practically abolished in India."

* S.M - Vol- 1- P- 278

"He was the strongest opponent of the caste and the earliest and staunchest upholder of equality"

* W. & S. - Vol- 11- P- 302

Against belief in God

"To the blessed lord belief in God was the most dangerous thing. For belief in God gave rise to belief in efficacy of worship and prayer and the efficacy of worship and prayer gave rise to the office of the priest and the priest was the evil genius who created all superstition and thereby destroyed the growth of Samma Ditthi.

.....the question whether God exists or does not exist is not the main question. Nor is the question whether God created the universe the real question. The real question is how did the creator create the world. The justification for the belief in God is a conclusion, which follows from our answer to the question, how was the world created.

The important question is : did God create something out of nothing or did he create something out of something?

It is impossible to believe that something could have been created out of nothing.

If the so-called God has created something out of something, then that something out of which something new was created has been in existence before he created anything. God cannot therefore be called the Creator of that something who has existed before him.

If something has been created by somebody out of something before God created anything then God cannot be said to be the Creator or the first cause.

Such was his last but incontrovertible argument against belief in the existence of God.

Being false in premises, belief in God as the creator of the universe is not - Dhamma. It is only belief in falsehood."

* W. & S. - Vol- 11- P- 255

"He accepted that reality must rest on proof. Thinking must be based on rationalism. He accepted that there was no logical or factual basis for the presumption that God exists or that he created the universe."

* W. & S. - Vol- 11- P- 86

Against religious rights etc.

"He was against religious rites, ceremonies, and observances. He was against them because they were the home of superstition and superstition was the enemy of Samma Ditthi, the most important element in his Ashtangmarg."

* W. & S. - Vol- 11- P- 254

"Sacrifices in the sense of killing an animal as an offering to God for personal benefit he regarded as a false sacrifice

The Brahmanic sacrifices were mostly sacrifices of animals to please their Gods. He condemned them as false sacrifices....

The opponents of sacrifices used to ridicule the Brahmins by saying:" if one can go to heaven by sacrificing an animal why should not one sacrifice one's own father. That would be a quicker way of going to heaven."

* W. & S. - Vol- 11- P- 90

"The Brahmin demand for meat on such an unbounded scale impoverished the peasants who had to find the cows for the sacrifices and were consequently deprived of milk and its by- products, which were their staple means of livelihood.

The proof of the limits to which these blood sacrifices had been carried on can be found even to this day in the lurid descriptions of the ceremonials in the Vedas which show but scant regard for any sort of humanitarian considerations. And so when Buddha came out preaching abolition of

animal sacrifices and religious ceremonials the masses to whom the new doctrines appealed both economically and ethically eagerly accepted them and scrapped Brahminical teachings."

* S.M - Vol- 1- P- 213

Repudiated supernaturalism

"In repudiating supernaturalism the Buddha had three objects. His first object was to lead man to the path of rationalism. His second object was to free man to go in search of truth. His third object was to remove the most potent source of superstition the result of which is to kill the spirit of inquiry"

* W. & S. - Vol- 11- P- 250

"The Buddha did not believe that the world was created. He believed that the world had evolved."

* W. & S. - Vol- 11- P- 271

Ahimsa

".....Ahimsa taught by the Blessed Lord was fundamental. But it was not absolute.

He taught that evil should be cured by the return of good. But he never preached that evil should be allowed to overpower good.

He stood for Ahimsa. He denounced Himsa. But he did not deny that Himsa might be the last resort to save good being destroyed by evil."

* W. & S. - Vol- 11- P- 509

".....the Buddha had no objection to eating meat if it was offered to him as part of his alms.

The monk can eat meat offered to him provided he was not a party to the killing of it.....

.....

..."Love all so that you may not wish to kill any." This is a positive way of stating the principle of Ahimsa...

...the doctrine of Ahimsa does not say "Kill not. It says Love all."

...Buddha meant to make a distinction between will to kill and need to kill.

He did not ban killing where there was need to kill.

What he banned was killing where there was nothing but the will to kill.

So understood there is no confusion in the Buddhist doctrine of Ahimsa.

It is a perfectly sound or moral doctrine, which everyone must, respects

...Brahminism has in it the will to kill. Jainism has in it the will never to kill.

The Buddha's Ahimsa is quite in keeping with his middle path.

To put it differently the Buddha made a distinction between Principle and Rule. He did not make Ahimsa a matter of Rule. He enunciated it as a matter of Principle or way of life.

.....A principle leaves you freedom to act. A rule does not. Rule either breaks you or you break the rule."

* W. & S. - Vol- 11- P- 346-347

Did not elevate poverty

" Poverty gives rise to sorrow.

But removal of poverty does not necessarily give rise to happiness.

Not high standard of living but a high standard of culture is what give happiness."

* W. & S. - Vol- 11- P- 368

" The Blessed Lord did not elevate poverty by calling it a blessed state of life.

Nor did he tell the poor that they might remain content for they will inherit the earth.

On the contrary, he said riches are welcome. What he insisted upon is that the acquisition of riches must be subject to Vinaya."

* W. & S. - Vol-11- P- 459

Grounds for accepting teachings of anybody

" Before you accept anybody's teachings as authoritative, do not go by the fact that it is contained in the scriptures, do not go by the subtleties of logic, do not go by considerations based upon mere appearances; do not go merely by the fact that beliefs and views preached are agreeable; do not go merely because they look to be genuine, do not go merely by the fact that the beliefs and views are those of some ascetic or superior.

But consider whether the beliefs and views sought to be inculcated are salutary or insalutary, blame worthy or blameless, lead to well being or ill being.

It is only on these grounds that one can accept the teachings of anybody."

* W. & S. - Vol- 11- P- 278

His religion: - a discovery

".....his religion is a discovery. As such it must be sharply distinguished from a religion which is called Revelation.

His religion is a discovery in the sense that it is the result of inquiry and investigation into the conditions of human life on earth and understanding of the working of human instincts with which man is born,

the moulding of his instincts and dispositions which man has formed as a result of history and tradition and which are working to his detriment."

* W. & S. - Vol- 11- P- 217-218

A Margadata

"He was born a son of man and was content to remain a common man and preached his gospel as a common man. He never claimed any supernatural origin or supernatural powers nor did he perform miracles to prove his supernatural powers. The Buddha made a clear distinction between a Margadata and a Mokshadata. Jesus, Mohammed and Krishna claimed for themselves the role of Mokshadata. The Buddha was satisfied with playing the role of a Maragadata."

* W. & S. - Vol- 17(II)- P- 97

Man require Gyan and sheela

"If I may use the words of Buddha, he said that man requires two things. One is Gyan and the other is Sheel. Gyan without Sheel is very dangerous. It must be accompanied by Sheel, by which we mean character, moral courage, ability to be independent of any kind of temptation, truthful to one's ideals."

* W. & S. - Vol- 15- P- 189

Buddha and Karl Marx

"These virtues one must practice to his utmost capacity. That is why they are called Paramitas (States of Perfection).

Such is the gospel the Buddha enunciated as a result of his enlightenment to end the sorrow and misery in the world.

It is clear that the means adopted by the Buddha were to convert a man by changing his moral disposition to follow the path voluntarily.

The means adopted by the Communists are equally clear, short and swift. They are (1) Violence and (2) Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

The Communists say that there are the only two means of establishing communism. The first is violence. Nothing short of it will suffice to break up the existing system. The other is dictatorship of the proletariat. Nothing short of it will suffice to continue the new system.

It is now clear what are the similarities and differences between Buddha and Karl Marx. The differences are about the means. The end is common to both."

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 450

".....the Buddha established Communism so far as the Sangh was concerned without dictatorship. It may be that it was a communism on a very small scale but it was communism without dictatorship a miracle, which Lenin failed to do."

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 461

"Society has been aiming to lay a new foundation was summarised by the French Revolution in three words, Fraternity, Liberty and Equality. The French Revolution was welcomed because of this slogan. It failed to produce equality. We welcome the Russian Revolution because it aims to produce equality. But it cannot be too much emphasized that in producing equality society cannot afford to sacrifice fraternity or liberty. Equality will be of no value without fraternity or liberty. It seems that the three can coexist only if one follows the way of the Buddha. Communism can give one but not all."

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 462

Buddha is a necessity of today

"In my childhood I was at Baroda. Maharaja Sayajirao respected Gautama Buddha. He had established an idol of Buddha in one of the gardens there. I used to go to this garden and stare at the idol. I am fascinated by Buddha since then. Sayajirao Maharaj had his own thoughts but he was attracted by Buddha. Gandhiji had his own thoughts but he was inclined towards Buddha. Ravindranath Thakur had his own thoughts, but he was fascinated by Buddha. I too am found of Buddha. The reason for this is that Buddha's teachings are the need of today. Buddha is held in esteem by many today because Buddha is a necessity of today. Buddha is fulfilling it. The world needs today compassionate outlook."

(Lokrajya magazine April 16th - 1981)

* Lokrajya-p-37

31. MANU

Living past and as really present

"It might be argued that the inequality prescribed by Manu in his Smriti is after all of historical importance. It is past history and can not be supposed to have any bearing on the present conduct of the Hindu. I am sure nothing can be greater error than this. Manu is not a matter of the past. It is even more than a past of the present. It is a living past and therefore as really present as any present can be."

* W. & S. - Vol- 12- P- 719

Codified the caste rules

'... Manu did not give the law of caste and that he could not do so. Caste existed long before Manu. He was an upholder of it and therefore philosophised about it, but certainly he did not and could not ordain the present order of Hindu society. His work ended with the codification of existing caste rules and the preaching of Caste Dharma."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 16

'Manu may not be responsible for the creation of caste. Manu

preached the sanctity of the Varna and as I have shown Varna is the parent of caste. In that sense Manu can be charged with being the progenitor if not the author of the caste system. Whatever be the case as to the guilt of Manu regarding the caste system there can be no question that Manu is responsible for upholding the principle of gradation and rank."

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 25

"If there is any difference between Manu and Neitzsche, it lies in this. Neitzsche was genuinely interested in creating a new race of men, which will be race of Superman as compared with the existing race of men. Manu, on the other hand, was interested in maintaining the privilege of a class who had come to arrogate to itself the claim of being Superman. Neitzsche's Supermen were Supermen by reason of their worth. Neitzsche was a genuine disinterested philosopher, Manu on the contrary was a hireling engaged to propound a philosophy which were served the interests of a class, born in a group and whose title to being Superman was not to be lost even if they lost their virtue."

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 123

" Like Bismarck, Manu knew that politics was the game of the possible. What was possible was to make a common cause and to build up a common front between the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas against the Vaishyas and the Shudras and this is what Manu did. The pity of it is that it was done in the name of religion. This need not shock anybody who has studied the soul and spirit of Brahmanism. With Brahmanism religion is a cloak to cover and hide its acquisitive politics."

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P- 331

Opponent of Buddhism

"There can be no doubt that the heretic of Manu is the Buddhist and the worthless philosophy of modern date differing from the Vedas is Buddhism. Kalluck Bhutt another commentator on Manu Smriti expressly states that the references to heretics in this Shlokas in Manu are to the Buddhists and Buddhism."

* W. & S. - Vol- 3- P-272

"Manu insist upon marriage as a condition precedent to Vanprastha or sannyas? The only answer is that he wanted to discourage persons, from becoming Sannyasi. Why did Manu dislike the order of Vanprastha or Sannyasi? The answer is that the religion of Buddha was largely supported and propagated by Sannyasis called Bhikshus. It was easy for unmarried persons to become Bhikshus. Manu was anxious to stop this. Hence the condition of marriage."

* W. & S. - Vol- 4- P- 266

"Manu was the greatest opponent of the Buddhist religion. This is the secret of the many inequities, which he heaped upon women. For he knew that if the home is to be protected against the invasion of Buddhism it is the women who must be put under restraint. And he did it. All responsibility

for the decline and fall of woman in India must be fastened upon Manu and not upon the Buddha."

* W. & S. - Vol 17 (II) -P- 128

Responsible for degradation of women in India.

"Although Manu was later than the Buddha, he has enunciated the old view propounded in the older Dharma sutras. This view of the woman was both an insult and an injury to the women of India. It was an injury because without any justification she was denied the right to acquire knowledge, which is the birthright of every human being. It was an insult because after denying her opportunity to acquire knowledge she was declared to be as unclean as untruth for want of knowledge and therefore not to be allowed to take Sannyas which was regarded as a path to reach Brahma. Not only was she denied the right to realise her spiritual potentiality she was declared to be barren of any spiritual potentiality by the Brahmins.

This is a cruel deal with women. It has no parallel."

* W. & S. - Vol 17 (II) -P- 119

".....It was Manu who was responsible for the degradation of women in India? Most people are perhaps aware of this. But they do not seem to know two things. They do not know what is peculiar in Manu. There is nothing new or startling in the laws of Manu about woman. They are the views of the Brahmins ever since Brahmanism was born in India. Before Manu they existed only as a matter of social theory. What Manu did was to convert what was social theory into the law of the State. The second thing they do not know is the reason, which led Manu to impose these disabilities upon women, Shudras and women were the two chief sections of the Aryan Society, which were flocking to join the religion of the Buddha and thereby undermining the foundation of the Brahmanic Religion. Manu wanted to stem the tide of women flowing in the direction of Buddhism.

It is for this that Manu imposed these disabilities upon women and crippled them permanently."

* W. & S. - Vol 17 (II) -P- 127

32. SAINTS

Saints never compaign against caste

".....The saints have never according to my study carried on a campaign against caste and untouchability. They were not concerned with the struggle between men. They were concerned with the relation between man and God. They did not preach that all men were equal. They preached that all men were equal in the eyes of God a very different and a very innocuous proposition which nobody can find difficult to preach or dangerous to believe in."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 87

"Yet from the viewpoint of the annihilation of caste". "The struggle of

the saints did not have any effect on society. The value of man is axiomatic, self-evident; it does not come to him as the result of the gilding of Bhakti. The saints did not struggle to establish this point. On the contrary, their struggle had a very unhealthy effect on the Depressed Classes. It provided the Brahmins with an excuse to silence them by telling that they would be respected if they also attained the status of Chokhamela". As the followers of different cults of Bhakti were themselves filled with caste prejudices, they not only turned a blind eye to their message of equality, justice and humanitarianism, but also described their incredible miracles with utmost exaggeration.

As regards the cult of Ramdas.... his followers were notorious for their caste prejudices since its inception, and their founder himself was obsessed with the ideas of Brahmin superiority. According to Ramdas, even a fallen Brahmin was superior to men of other castes in heaven and on earth; nay a Brahmin was one to whom even the Gods made an obeisance."

* W. & S. - Vol- 17(III)- P- 8-9

33. GREAT MAN AND HERO WORSHIP

"It is quite obvious that without the combination of sincerity and intellect no man can be great. Is this enough to constitute a great man? At this stage we must, I think, make a distinction between an eminent individual and a great man. For I am certain that a great man is something very different from an eminent individual. Sincerity and intellect are enough to mark out an individual as being eminent as compared to his fellows. But they are not enough to raise him to the dignity of a great man. A great man must have something more than what a merely eminent individual has. What must be that thing? Here comes the importance of the philosopher's definition of a great man. A great man must be motivated by the dynamics of a social purpose and must act as the scourge and the scavenger of society. These are the elements, which distinguish an eminent individual from a great man and constitute his title-deeds to respect and reverence."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 215

" What else could be the attitude of a devout band of disciples? But can anything be more mistaken or move uncritical? Such an attitude implies two things. It means that a great man works by imposing his maxims on his disciples. It means that the disciples should not be wiser than the master. Both these conclusions are wrong. They do injustice to the master. No great man really does his work by crippling his disciples by forcing on them his maxims or his conclusions. What a great man does is not to impose his maxims on his disciples. What he does to evoke them, to awaken them to a vigorous and various exertion of their faculties.....It is therefore wrong to the master as well as to himself for the disciple to bind himself to the maxims and conclusions of his master. His duty is to know the principles and if he is convinced of their value and their worth, to spread them."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 240

"...Hero worship in the sense of expressing our unbounded admiration is one thing. To obey the hero is a totally different kind of hero worship. There is nothing wrong in the former while the latter is no doubt a most pernicious thing. The former is only man's respect for everything which is noble and of which the great man is only an embodiment. The latter is the villain's fealty to his lord. The former is consistent with respect, but the latter is a sign of debasement. The former doesn't take away one's intelligence to think and independence to act. The latter makes one a perfect fools. The former involves no disaster to the state. The latter is the source of positive danger to it."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 231

34. MAHATMA JYOTIBA PHULE

" The greatest Shudra of modern India who made the lower classes of Hindus conscious of their slavery to the higher classes and who preached the gospel that for India social democracy was more vital than Independence from foreign rule."

* W. & S. - Vol- 7(Dedication)

35. LOKMANYA TILAK

" Mr. Tilak was a Brahmin and belonged to the Governing class. Though he had acquired the reputation of being the father of the Swaraj movement, his antipathy to the servile classes was quite well known. For want of space I will cite only one instance of his mentality towards the servile classes. In 1918, when the non-Brahmins and the Backward Classes had started an agitation, for separate representation in the legislature, Mr. Tilak in a public meeting held in Sholapur, said that he did not understand, why the Oil pressers, tobacco shop keepers, washerman etc. that was his description of the non- Brahmins and the Backward Classes should want to go into the legislature. In his opinion, their business was to obey the laws and not to aspire for power to make laws."

* W. & S. - Vol- 9- P- 461

36. RAJARSHI CHHATRAPATI SHAHU

" We need you ever so much, for you are the piller of the great movement towards social democracy which is making its headway in India."

Shahu Chhatrapati - P-481

37. MAHATMA GANDHI

" In the age of Ranade the leaders struggled to modernize India. In the age of Gandhi the leaders are making her a living specimen of antiquity.

In the age of Ranade leaders depended upon experience as a corrective method of their thoughts and their deeds. The leaders of the present age depend upon their inner voice as their guide. Not only is there a difference in their mental makeup there is a difference even in their viewpoint regarding external appearance. The leaders of the old age took care to be well clad while the leaders of the present age take pride in being half clad. The leaders of the Gandhi age are of course aware of this difference. But far from blushing for their views and their appearance they claim that the India of Gandhi is superior to India of Ranade. They say that the age of Mr. Gandhi is an agitated and an expectant age, which the age of Mr. Ranade was not...

To my mind there is no doubt that this Gandhi age is the Dark Age of India. It is an age in which people instead of looking for their ideals in the future are returning to antiquity. It is an age in which people have ceased to think for themselves and as they have ceased to think they have ceased to read and examine the facts of their lives. The fate of an ignorant democracy, which refuses to follow the way shown by learning and experience and chooses to grope in the dark paths of the mystics and the megalomaniacs, is a sad thing to contemplate."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 352

..... He was a man who had been a failure all his life in public life. There was no important occasion when India was about to succeed when Mr. Gandhi had brought any thing good. When Mr. Jinnah raised his Pakistan issue two or three years ago, Mr. Gandhi called it a sin and turned a deaf ear. Ultimately the frankincense grew. Mr. Gandhi got frightened. He was grappling with it now by making a complete somersault. Yet he continued to be the leader in this country, because the Congress did not put its leader on his trial."

* W. & S. - Vol- 17(III)- P- 320

" Unfortunately, the Congress chose Mr. Gandhi as its representative. A worse person could not have been chosen to guide India's destiny. As a unifying force he was a failure. Mr. Gandhi presents himself as a man full of humility. But his behaviour at the Round Table Conference showed that in the flush of victory Mr. Gandhi can be very petty minded. As a result of his successful compromise with the government just before he came Mr. Gandhi treated the whole Non-Congress delegation with contempt. He insulted them whenever an occasion furnished him with an excuse by openly telling them that they were nobodies and that he alone as the delegate of the Congress represented the country. Instead of unifying the Indian delegation. Mr. Gandhi widened the breach. From the point of view of knowledge Mr. Gandhi proved himself to be a very ill-equipped person. On the many constitutional and communal questions with which the conference was confronted. Mr. Gandhi had many platitudes to utter but no views or suggestions of a constructive character to offer."

* W. & S. - Vol- 9- P- 55

" Mr. Gandhi also forgot that he was going to a political conference. He went there as though he was going to a Vaishanava Shrine singing the Narsi Mehta's Songs. When I think of the whole affair I am wondering if any nation had ever sent a representative to negotiate the terms of a national settlement who was more unfitted than Mr. Gandhi. How unfit Mr. Gandhi was to negotiate a settlement becomes evident when one realizes that this Ambassador of India was ready to return to India with only Provincial Autonomy when as a matter of fact he was sent to negotiate on the basis of Independence. No man has brought greater disasters to the interests of India than did Mr. Gandhi at the Round Table Conference."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 351

" Mr. Gandhi's political career had been a series of failures during the last 25 years. His politics was no doubt very exciting as compared with the placid politics of Gokhale or Ranade. But there was one thing quite certain namely that the politics and methods of Gokhale and Ranade would never have led the country to its present unfortunate position of having to divide the country. Mr. Gandhi's politics had resulted in that tragedy."

* W. & S. - Vol- 17(III)- P- 300

"The age of Rande, Gokhale, Agarkar and Tilak and the movements started by them were different from the Gandhi age. Their age was the age of knowledge. There is absolutely no doubt about it. Gandhi's age can be called the "Tamo Yug" of India. The politics of Agarkar and Tilak was based on honesty and truth. It was not hollow and noisy. But the politics of Gandhi is hollow and noisy. It is the most dishonest politics in the history of Indian polity. Gandhi was the man responsible for eliminating morality from politics and instead introduced commercialism in Indian politics. Politics has been denuded of its virtue."

* W. & S. - Vol- 17(II)- P- 69

" When I seriously study Gandhi's character. I become exceedingly convinced that .....than the seriousness or sincerity. According to me his actions can be likened to a base coin. His politeness is like the politeness of Urea Heap, case of the characters in the famous English novel "David Copperfield." He has managed to keep himself in the forefront by means of cunning and inherent shrewdness. A person who has faith in his capacity and character faces the realities of life in a bold and manly manner. He has no need to keep a dagger up his sleeve, Nepolean always charged from the front. He did not believe in treachery and never attacked from behind. Treachery and deceit are the weapons of the weak. Gandhi has always used these weapons."

* W &. S - Vol- 17(II)- P- 67

" The man who was considered to be a friend of the Untouchables and the Moslems betrayed the cause of the very same people whose cause he claimed to be a champion. This immensely pained me. There is an old saying, which benefits the occasion (Bagal mein chhurri Munh mein Ram):

'God's name on the lips and dagger under the armpit.' If such a person can be called a Mahatma by all means call Gandhi a Mahatma. According to me, he is no more than a simple Mohandas Karmchand Gandhi." *

* W. & S. - Vol- 17(II)- P- 69

"Everybody felt that Mr. Gandhi was the most determined enemy of the Untouchables. So much of his energy and attention did Mr. Gandhi concentrate on the question of the Untouchables that it would not be unfair if it was said that the main purpose for which Mr. Gandhi came to the Round Table Conference was to oppose the demands of the Untouchables...

... who were friends of Mr. Gandhi could not understand Mr. Gandhi's attitude to the demands of the Untouchables. To give recognition to the Muslims and the Sikhs and to refuse it to the Untouchables came to them as a surprise and a puzzle. Whenever they asked for an explanation. Mr. Gandhi did nothing except to get angry. Mr. Gandhi himself could not give a logical and consistent defence of his opposition to the Untouchables. Inside the Round Table Conference his defence was that the Hindus had seriously taken up the cause of the Untouchables and that therefore there was no reason to give them political safeguards."

* W. & S. - Vol- 9- P- 70

" Here was an opportunity to Mr. Gandhi to show his sympathy to the Untouchables by lending his support to their demand and there by strengthen their power of resistance against the tyranny and oppression of the Hindus. Instead of showing his sympathy Mr. Gandhi used every means in his power to defeat them. He made a pact with the Muslims with a view to isolate the Untouchables. Failing to win the Mussalmans to his side he went on a fast unto death to compel the British Government to withdraw their decision to give to the Untouchables the same political rights as given to the Muslims and other minority communities. When the fast failed and Mr. Gandhi was obliged to sign a pact called the Poona pact which conceded the political demands of the Untouchables he took his revenge by letting the Congress employ foul electioneering tactics to make their political right of no avail."

* W. & S. - Vol- 9- P- 249

" All his heroism vanished the moment Mr. Gandhi found that he had overdone the trick. The man who started by saying that he would fast unto death unless the safeguards to the Untouchables were completely withdrawn and the Untouchables reduced to the condition of utter helplessness without rights and without recognition was plaintively pleading " My life is in your hands. Will you save me ?" Mr. Gandhi's over impatience to sign the Poona pact-though it did not cancel the Prime Minister's Award as he had demanded but only substituted another and a different system of constituent safeguards-is the strongest evidence that the hero had lost his courage and was anxious to save his face and anyhow save his life.

There was nothing noble in the fast. It was a foul and filthy act. The fast was not for the benefit of the Untouchables. It was against them and was the worst form of coercion against a helpless people to give up the constitutional safeguards of which they had become possessed under the Prime Minister's Award and agree to live on the mercy of the Hindus. It was a vile and wicked act. How can the Untouchables regard such a man as honest and sincere?"

* W. & S. - Vol- 9- P- 259

" This fast unto death was great gamble on the part of Mr. Gandhi. He perhaps felt that the mere threat to fast unto death would make me and other Depressed Classes who were with me just shiver and yield. But he soon found that he was mistaken and that the Untouchables were equally determined to fight to the last for their right. No one except his own followers was convinced that Mr. Gandhi's fast had any moral basis and if Gandhi got a second lease of life, he owes it entirely to the generosity and goodwill shown towards him by the Untouchables."

* W. & S. - Vol- 5- P- 343

" To Gandhi removal of untouchability was a platform and not a programme of action and so Gandhi was not the liberator or emancipator of the Untouchables."

* L. & M. — P - 371

38. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

" He draws his inspiration from the Jeffersonian Declaration; but has he ever expressed any shame or any remorse about the condition of the 60 millions of Untouchables? Has he anywhere referred to them in the torrent of literature, which comes out from his pen?"

* W. & S. - Vol 9 -P- 432

" There is one thing, which gives me a very sad thought, and it is this that our Prime Minister has taken no interest in this matter at all. In fact, he seems to be not only apathetic but also anti-Untouchable. I happen to have read his biography and I find that he castigated Mr. Gandhi because Mr. Gandhi was prepared to die for the purpose of doing away with separate electorates, which was given to the Scheduled Castes. He has said in his biography, 'Why on earth Mr. Gandhi is bothering with this trifling problem? Sir, I was shocked and surprised to hear the Prime Minister rather Mr. Nehru then in 1934-uttering these words. I thought that since the responsibility of Government had fallen on his shoulder he may have changed his view and thought that he must now take the responsibility which Mr. Gandhi was prepared to take on his shoulder, but I do not find any kind of a change in his mind. Sir, in the year 1952, a conference was held at Nagpur under the Presidentship of my Hon. Friend Babu Jagjivan Ram.

I understood that there was a very big shamiana. Two silver chairs were placed on the dais, one for Mr. Jagjivan Ram and one for Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. There was an audience of two hundred to three hundred and one thousand police, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was supposed to inaugurate that conference. I have got his speech here but I do not wish to trouble the House by reading it, but this is the gist of it. He was I am told, in great anger against Babu Jagjivan Ram for having organised the conference. He said Loudly " I do not recognise that there is such a problem as that of the Untouchables. There is a general problem of the economically poor and the problem of the Untouchables is a part of that problem. It will take its place and receive its attention along with the other problems. There is no occasion, no purpose in bestowing any special thought upon it. "Sir, if the Prime Minister is prepared to throw such cold water-not cold, water from the refrigerator, so to say what enthusiasm can we expect from the rest of the workers who have taken upon them-selves the duty or the responsibility or the interest in carrying on with this particular problem. I do not think that untouchability will vanish. They believe yes, I think 'no' as I said, because it has mental twist. It will take years and years. At the some time there is no reason why we should not strongly agitate for seeing whether untouchability goes or not, that the social, economic, political and constitutional right of the Scheduled Castes are fully protected. To that extent efforts must necessarily be directed."

* W. & S. -Vol.15-p-916

39. Dr. AMBEDKAR ABOUT HIMSELF

" Positively, my social philosophy may be said to be enshrined in three words. Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. Let no one however say that I have borrowed my philosophy from the French-Revolution. I have not. My philosophy has roots in religion and not in political science. I have derived them from the teachings of My Master, the Buddha."

* W. & S. - Vol- 17(III)- P- 503

" I have an open mind though not an empty mind. A person with an open mind always the subject of congratulation. While this may be so it must, at the same time be realized that an open mind may be an empty mind and that such an open mind, If it is a happy condition is also a very dangerous condition for a man to be in. A disaster may easily overtake a man with an empty mind. Such a person is like a ship without ballast and without a rudder. It can have no direction. It may float but may also suffer a shipwreck against a rock for want of direction."

* W. & S. - Vol- 8- P- 18

"... no one can hope to make any effective mark upon his time and bring the aid that is worth bringing to great principles and struggling causes if he is not strong in his love and his hatred. I hate injustice, tyranny, pompousness and humbug, and my hatred embraces all those who are

guilty of them. I want to tell my critics that I regard my feelings of hatred as real force. They are only the reflex of the love I bear for the causes I believe in and I am in no wise ashamed of it."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 208-209

" I have been loyal to the British because the.... Depressed Classes, surrounded by enemies on all sides could not afford to fight on all the fronts at the same time. I therefore, decided to fight the two thousand-year old-tyranny and oppression of the caste Hindus and to secure social equality for the Depressed Classes before everything else."

* S.M. - Vol- 1- P- 234

" The utmost rank to which I have risen is that of a leader of the Untouchables. I find even that rank has been denied to me. Thakkar Bapa, the left-hand man of Mahatma Gandhi. I call him left hand man only because Vallabhbhai Patel is the right hand man —— very recently said that I was only the leader of the Maharas."

* W. & S. - Vol- 1- P- 346

" As to myself it is no exaggeration to say that no man was placed in a greater and graver dilemma than I was then. It was a baffling situation. I had to make a choice between two different alternatives. There was before me the duty, which I owed as part of common humanity, to save Gandhi from sure death. There was before me the problem of saving for the Untouchables the political rights, which the Prime Minister had given them. I responded to the call of humanity and saved the life of Mr. Gandhi by agreeing to alter the Communal Award in a manner satisfactory to Mr. Gandhi. This agreement is known as the Poona pact."

* W. & S. - Vol- 9- P- 88

" I know my position has not been understood properly in the country. It has often been misunderstood. Let me, therefore take this opportunity to clarify my position. Sir, I say this that whenever there has been a conflict between my personal interests and the interests of the country as a whole. I have always placed the claim of the country above my own personal claims. (Hear, Hear). I have never pursued the path of private gain. If I had played my cards well, as other do, I might have been in some other place. I do not want to say anything about it but I did not do it. There were colleagues with me at the Round Table Conference who, I am sure, would support what I say that so far as the demands of the country are concerned, I have never legged behind. Many European members who were at the conference rather felt embarrassed that I was the infant terrible of the Conference. But I will also leave no doubt in the minds of the people of this country that I have another loyalty to which I am bound and which I can never forsake. That loyalty is the community of Untouchables, in which I am borned, to which I belong, and which I hope I shall never desert. And I say this to this House as strongly as I possibly can, that whenever there is any conflict of interest between the

country and the Untouchables so far as I am concerned the Untouchable's interest will take precedence over the interests of the country. I am not going to support a tyrannising majority simply because it happens to speak in the name of country. I am not going to support a party because it happens to speak in the name of country. I shall not do that. Let everybody here and everywhere understand that, that is my position. As between the country and myself the country will have precedence, as between the country and the Depressed Classes, the Depressed Classes will have precedence, the country will not have precedence."

* W. & S. - Vol- 2- P- 258

" So far as I am concerned I am a very conservative person although some people may not accept that fact I am indeed very conservative. All I say is that I am a progressive conservative and I should like to tell the house one important fact which I think every one of us must bear in mind, particularly the conservative members of this House. The great political philosopher Edmund Burke who wrote a big book against the French Revolution because of its radicalism and revolutionism did not forget to tell his own countrymen who where very conservative one very important truth. He said that those who want to conserve must be ready to repair..."

* W. & S. - Vol- 14 (I)- P- 283

" At present I am the most hated man in Hindu India. I am represented as a traitor, I am denounced as an enemy of the Hindus I am cursed as a destroyer of Hinduism and branded as the greatest enemy of the country. But believe me when I say that, when after some days the dust settles down and a review of the proceedings of the Round Table Conference is dispassionately taken by future historians the future generations of the Hindus will acclaim my services to the nation."

* W. & S.-Vol. -17 (III)-P - 81

" I am described as a traitor by Congressmen."

" Because I opposed Gandhi, I am not at all perturbed by this charge. It is baseless, false and malicious. But it was a great shock to the world that Gandhi himself should have sponsored violent opposition to the breaking of your shackles. I am confident that the future generations of Hindus will appreciate my services when they study the history of the Round Table Conference."

* L. & M. - P- 194

" From my early childhood, I have dedicated my self to the upliftment of the Scheduled Castes among whom I was born. It is not that there were no temptations in my way. If I had considered my own interests, I could have been anything I wanted to be and if I had joined the Congress I would have reached to the highest place in that organisation. But as I said I had dedicated myself to the upliftment of the Scheduled Castes and I have followed the adage, which says that it is better to be narrow

minded if you wish to be enthusiastic about a cause, which you wish to accomplish. You can therefore well imaging, what pain it has caused me to see that the cause of the Scheduled Castes has been relegated to the limbo of nothing."

* W. & S. - Vol- 14 (II)- P- 1321

40. NATIONALISTS AND PATRIOTS

" .... take the cause of freedom of the country.... There is a world of difference between freedom by the powerful to oppress the weak and freedom of the weak to have an opportunity to grow fully to manhood. I would like to ask our Hindu patriots, who talk about this nonsense of freedom, etc., what use are they going to make of this freedom? if the social freedom remains what it is, if the mentality is going to remain what it is, if the freedom that they will get from the Britishers is going to be used for suppressing the oppressed and suppressed classes, why should any one fight for it, I do not understand. If on the other hand, you examine our cause, the principle we fight for, you will see it far transcends the limited class we have in view."

* W. & S. - Vol- 17(III)- P- 348

" India is a peculiar country and her nationalists and patriots are a peculiar people. A patriot and a nationalist in India is one who sees with open eyes his fellowmen treated as being less than men. But his humanity does not rise in protest. He knows that men and women for no cause are denied their human rights. But it does not prick his civic sense to helpful action. He finds whole class of people shut out from public employment. But it does not rouse his sense of justice and fair play. Hundreds of evil practices that injure man and society are perceived by him. But they do not sicken him with disgust. The patriot's one cry is power and; more power for him and for his class. I am glad I do not belong to that class of patriots. I belong to that class which takes its stand on democracy and which seeks to destroy monopoly in a very shape and form. Our aim is to realise in practice our ideal of one man, one value in all walks of life, political, economic and social. It is because representative government is one means to that end that the Depressed Classes attach to it as great a value and it is because of its value to us."

* W. & S. - Vol- 2- P- 598-599

1. NATION, NATIONALITY AND NATIONALISM

For what is a nation?

"A nation is not a country in the physical sense of the country whatever degree of geographical unity it may posses. A nation is not people synthesized by a common culture derived from common language, common religion or common race. ..... "Nationality is a subjective psychological feeling. It is a feeling of a corporate sentiment of oneness, which makes those who are charged with it, feels that they are kith and kin. This national feeling is a double-edged feeling. It is at once a feeling of fellowship for one's own kith and kin, an anti fellowship feeling for those who are not one's own kith and kin. It is feelings of consciousness of kind which binds together those who are within the limits of the kindred and severs them from those who are outside the limits of the kindred. It is a longing to belong to one's own group and a longing not to belong to any other group. This is the essence of what is called a nationality and national feeling. This longing to belong to one's own kindred as I said is a subjective psychological feeling and what is important to bear in mind is that the longing to belong to one's own kindred is quite independent of geography, culture or economic or social conflict. There may be geographical unity and yet there may be no longing to belong. There may be no geographical unity and yet the feeling of longing to belong may be very intense. There may be cultural unity and yet there may be no longing to belong. There may be economical conflicts and class divisions and yet there may be an intense feeling of longing to belong. The point is that nationality is not primarily a matter of geography, culture or....."

* W. & S.-Vol-3-P-309

Nation is to be created

"The nation does not exist, it is to be created, and I think it will be admitted that the suppression of distinct and a separate community is not the method of creating a nation."

* W. & S.-Vol-9-P-412

"As a matter of historical experience, neither race, nor language nor country has sufficed to mould a people into a nation."

* W. & S.- Vol-8-P-34

It must be borne in mind that as a nation may be found in being, so also a nation, may be brought into being. In federal Government there may be at the start no nation, it may be a collection of heterogeneous communities. But it is possible to have in the end a nation even under a Federal Government."

* W. & S.- Vol-I-P-317

The freedom of the nation and the freedom of the people

"Not to make a distinction between the freedom of the country and the freedom of the people in the country is to allow oneself to be mislead,

if not deceived. For words such as society, nation and country are just amorphous if not ambiguous terms. There is no gainsaying that' nation' though one word means many classes. Philosophically, it may be possible to consider a nation as a unit but sociologically it can not but be regarded as consisting of many classes and the freedom of the nation, if it is to be a reality, must vouchsafe the freedom of the different classes comprised in it, particularly of those who are treated as the servile classes."

* W. & S. Vol. 9 - P- 444

Nation and Community

"A state either consists of a series of a communities or it consists of a series of nations .In a state, which is composed of a series of communities, one community may be arrayed against another community and the two may be opposed to each other. But in the matter of their ultimate destiny they feel they are one. But in a state, which is composed of a series of nations, when one nation rises against the other, the conflict is one as to differences of ultimate destiny. This is the distinction between communities and nations and it is this distinction which explains the difference in their political rights. There is nothing new or original in this explanation. It is merely another way of stating why the community has one kind of right and the nation another of quite a different kind. A community has a right of insurrection because it is satisfied with it. All that it wants is a change in the mode and form of government. Its quarrel is not over any difference of ultimate destiny. A nation has to be accorded the right of disruption because it will not be satisfied with mere change in the form of government. Its quarrel is over the question of ultimate destiny. If it will not be satisfied unless the unnatural bond that binds them is dissolved, then prudence and even ethics demands that the bond shall be dissolved and they shall be freed each to pursue its own destiny."

* W. & S.-Vol-8-p-327-328

The essence of nationality

"Nationality is a social feeling. It is a feeling of a corporate sentiment, of oneness which makes those who are charged with it feel that they are kith and kin. This national feeling is a double-edged feeling. It is at once a feeling of fellowship for one's own kith and kin and an anti-fellowship feeling for those who are not one's own kith and kin. It is a feeling of "consciousness of kind' which on the one hand binds together those who have it, so strongly that it over-rides all differences arising out of economic conflicts or social gradations and, on the other, severs them from those who are not of their kind. It is a longing not to belong to any other group. This is the essence of what is called a nationality and national feeling."

* W. & S.- Vol-8-P-31

What is nationalism?

"The principle of self-determination expresses the desire of a people

united by common ideals and common purposes to decide, without external compulsion; its political status. whether independence, interdependence, or union with other people of the world. This is called nationalism."

* W. & S.Vol.10-P-40

Difference between nationality and nationalism

".... there is a difference between nationality and nationalism. They are two different psychological states of the human mind. Nationality means "consciousness of kind, awareness of the existence of that tie of kinship". Nationalism means "the desire for a separate national existence for those who are bound by this tie of kinship." Secondly, it is true that there cannot be nationalism without the feeling of nationality being in existence. But, it is important to bear in mind that the converse is not always true. The feeling of nationality may be present and yet the feeling of nationalism may be quite absent. That is to say, nationality does not in all cases produce nationalism. For nationality to flame into nationalism two conditions must exist. First, there must arise the "will to live as a nation". Nationalism is the dynamic expression of that desire. Secondly, there must be a territory which nationalism could occupy and make it a state, as well as a cultural home of the nation. Without such a territory, nationalism, to use Lord Action's phrase, would be a "soul as it were wandering in search of a body in which to begin life over again and dies out finding none."

* W. & S.- Vol-8-P-38-39

2. NATIONAL UNITY

Indian first and Indian last

".... I am of opinion that the most vital need of the day is to create among the mass of the people the sense of a common nationality the feeling not that they are Indians first and Hindus, Mohamedans or Sindhis and Kanarese afterwards but that they are Indians first and Indians last."

* W. & S. - Vol-2-P-317

"Personally myself I say openly that I do not believe that there is any place in this country for any particular culture whether it is Hindu culture, or a Mohammedan culture, or a Kanarese culture or a Gujarati culture. There are things we cannot deny, but they are not to be cultivated as advantages, they are to be treated as disadvantages as something which divides out" loyalty and takes away from us our common goal. That common goal is the building up of a feeling that we are all Indians. I do not like what some people say, that we are Indians' first and Hindus afterwards or Muslims afterwards. I am not satisfied with that, I frankly say that I am not satisfied with that. I do not want that our loyalty as Indian should be in the slightest way affected by any competitive loyalty whether that loyalty arises out of our religion, out of our culture, or out of our language. I want all people to be Indian first, Indian last and nothing else but Indians."

* W. & S. - Vol-2-P-195

Without social union political unity is difficult

"For working it as true kindred what is want not merely political unity but a true union of heart and soul, in other words, social unity. Political unity is worth nothing, if it is not the expression of real union. It is as precarious as the unity between persons, who without being friends become allies of each other."

* W. & S. - Vol-8-P-189

"Without social union, political unity is difficult to be achieved. If achieved, it would be as precarious as summer sapling, liable to be uprooted by the gust of a hostile wind. With mere political unity, India may be State. But to be a State is not to be a nation and a State, which is not a nation, has small prospects of survival in the struggle for existence. This is especially true were nationalism the most dynamic force of modern times ... is seeking every where to free itself by the destruction and disruption of all mixed states. The danger to a mixed and composite state, therefore, lies not so much in external aggression as in the internal resurgence of nationalities which are fragmented, entrapped, suppressed and held against their will."

* W. & S.- Vol-8-P-193-94

Fraternity is inevitable

"I am of opinion that in believing that we are a nation, we are cherishing a great delusion. How can people divided into several thousands of castes be a nation. The sooner we realize that we are not as yet a nation in the social and psychological sense of the world, the better for us. For then only we shall realize the necessity of becoming a nation and seriously think of ways and means of realizing the goal. The realization of this goal is going to be very difficult- far more difficult than it has been in the United States. The United States has no caste problem. In India there are castes. The castes are anti-national. In the first place because they bring about separation in social life. They are anti-national also because they generate jealousy and antipathy between caste and caste. But we must overcome all these difficulties. If we wish to become a nation in reality. For fraternity can be a fact only when there is a nation. Without fraternity, equality and liberty will be no deeper than coats of paint."

* W. & S.- Vol-13- P-1217

3. RIGHTS

Rights must be accompanied by remedies

"Rights are real only if they are accompanied by remedies. It is no use giving rights if the aggrieved person has no legal remedy to which he can resort when his rights are invaded. Consequently when the Constitution guarantees rights it also becomes necessary to make provision to prevent

the Legislature and the Executive from overriding them. This function has been usually assigned to the Judiciary and the Courts have been made the special guardians of the rights guaranteed by the Constitution."

* W. & S.- Vol-1-P-406

"Rights are protected not by law but by the social and moral conscience of society. If social conscience is such that it is prepared to recognize the rights which law chooses to enact, rights will be safe and secure. But if the Fundamental rights are opposed by the community, no Law, no Parliament, no Judiciary can guarantee them in the real sense of the word."

* W. & S.- Vol-1-P-222

"Lost rights are never regained' "by begging, and by appeals to the conscience of the usurpers, but by relentless struggle."

* L.& M. - P- 82

"..... Rights cannot be given in a generous way."

* W. & S. -Voll-2-P-194.

4. FRANCHISE

what is franchise?

"..... that franchise, far from being a transaction concerned with the marking of the ballot paper, "stands for direct and active participation in the regulation of terms upon which associated life shall be sustained and the permit of good carried on."

* W. & S. - VOL - 2 - P - 337

" Franchise means the right to determine the terms of associated life."

* W. & S. - VOL -2-P- 441

" Surely the franchise does not mean a mere matter of the ballot box, does not mean a mere matter of polling booths and the placing of polling officers there. Franchise means something more vital than that. ..... as I understand it, to me the suffrage and the franchise are nothing else but the right of self-defense; ....."

* W. & S. - VOL -2-P- 559

"..... I understand the franchise, I understand it to be the right to regulate the terms of what one might call associated life in society..."

* W. & S.-Vol-2-P- 559

5. FRATERNITY

" What is fraternity? It is nothing but another name for brotherhood of men which is another name for morality."

* W. & S.-Vol-11-P- 325

" Fraternity is the name for the disposition of an individual to treat men as the object of reverence and love and the desire to be in unity with his fellow beings."

* W. & S.-Vol-3-P- 97

Fraternity strengthens socialites

"Fraternity strengthens socialites and gives to each individual a stronger personal interest in practically consulting the welfare of others. It leads him to identify his feelings more and more with their good, or at least with an even greater degree of practical consideration for it. With a disposition to fraternity he comes as though instructively to be conscious of himself as being one who of course pays a regard to others. The good of others becomes to him a thing naturally and necessarily to be attended to like any of the physical conditions of our existence. Where people do not feel that entireness of sympathy with all others, concordance in the general direction of their conduct is impossible."

* W. & S.-Vol-3-P- 97-98

Fraternity- the root of democracy

" Some equate democracy with equality and liberty. Equality and liberty are no doubt the deepest concern of democracy. But the more important question is what sustains equality and liberty? Some would say that it is the law of the state, which sustains equality and liberty. This is not a true answer. What sustains equality and liberty is fellow felling. What the French Revolutionists called fraternity. The word fraternity is not an adequate expression. The proper term is what the Buddha called, Maitree. Without fraternity, Liberty would destroy equality and equality would destroy liberty. If in democracy liberty does not destroy equality and equality does not destroy liberty, it is because at the basis of both there is fraternity. Fraternity is therefore the root of democracy."

* W. & S.-Vol-4-P- 283-284

6. DEMOCRACY IN INDIA AND ITS FUTURE

I. PREREQUISITES OF DEMOCRACY

Defined

"A form and method of government where by revolutionary changes in the economic and social life of the people are brought about without bloodshed."

* W. & S.Vol. 17(III) - p -475

" The principle of self-government expresses the desire of the people to rule itself rather than be ruled by others whether the rulers be absolute monarchs, dictators, or privileged classes. It is called "democracy".

* W. & S.Vol. 10 - p - 39

" Democracy is another name for equality."

* W. & S.Vol. 9 - p - 447

Purpose of democracy

"The purpose of modern democracy is not so much to put a curb on an autocratic King but to bring about the welfare of the people"

* W. & S.Vol.17(III)-p- 474

Democracy is more than a form of Government

".....a democracy is more than a form of Government. It is a form of the organisation of society. There are two essential conditions, which characterize a democratically constituted society. First is the absence of stratification of society into classes. The Second is a social habit on the part of individuals and groups, which is ready for continuous readjustment of recognition of reciprocity of interests."

* W. & S.Vol. 4 - p - 281

"Democracy is not merely a form of Government. It is primarily a mode of associated living of conjoint communicated experience. It is essentially an attitude of respect and reverence towards fellowmen."

* W. & S.Vol. 1 - p - 57

Democratic Government presupposes democratic society

"A democratic form of Government presupposes a democratic form of society. The formal framework of democracy is of no value and would indeed be a misfit if there was no social democracy. The politicals never realized that democracy was not a form of Government it was essentially a form of society. It may not be necessary for a democratic society to be marked by unity, by community of purpose, by loyalty to public ends and by mutuality of sympathy. But it does unmistakably involve two things. The first is an attitude of mind, an attitude of respect and equality towards their fellows. The second is a social organization free from rigid social barriers. Democracy is incompatible and inconsistent with isolation and exclusiveness, resulting in the distinction between the privileged and the unprivileged."

* W. & S.Vol.- 1 - p -222

"There cannot be democratic Government unless the society for which it functions is democratic in its form and structure. Those who hold that democracy needs be no more than a mere matter of elections seem to make three mistakes.

One mistake they make is to believe that Government is something, which is quite distinct and separate from society. As a matter of fact Government is not something which is distinct and separate from society. Government is one of the many institutions, which Society rears and to which; it assigns the function of carrying out some of the duties, which are necessary for collective social life.

The second mistake they make lies in their failure to realize that a

Government is to reflect the ultimate purposes, aims, objects, and wishes of society and this can happen only where the society in which the Government is rooted is democratic. If society is not democratic, Government can never be. Where the society is divided into two classes governing and the governed the Government; is bound to be the Government of the governing class

The third mistake they make is to forget that whether Government would be good or bad, democratic or undemocratic depends to a large extent up on the instrumentalities particularly the Civil Service on which every where Government has to depend for administrating the Law. It all depends upon the social milieu in which civil servants are nurtured. If the social milieu is undemocratic the Government is bound; to be undemocratic.

There is one other mistake, which is responsible for the view that for democracy to function it is enough to have a democratic form of Government. To realize this mistake it is necessary to have some idea of what is meant by good Government

Good Government means good laws and good administration. This is the essence of good Government. Nothing else can be. Now there cannot be good Government in this sense if those who are invested with ruling power seek the advantage of their own class instead of the advantage of the whole people or of those who are downtrodden."

* W. & S.Vol. 4 - p - 282

Democracy rests on four premises

"Political Democracy rests on four premises, which may be set out in the following terms: -

(i) The individual is an end in himself.
(ii) That the individual has certain inalienable rights, which must be guaranteed to him by the Constitution.
(iii) That the individual shall not be required to relinquish any of his Constitutional rights as a condition precedent to the receipt of a privilege.
(iv) That the State shall not delegate powers to private persons to govern others."

* W. & S.Vol. 1 - p - 409

Fraternity the root of democracy

"Democracy is more than a political machine. It is even more than a social system. It is an attitude of mind or a philosophy of life.

Some equate democracy with equality and liberty. Equality and liberty are no doubt the deepest concern of democracy. But the more important question is what sustains equality and liberty? Some would say that it is the law of the state, which sustains equality and liberty. This is not a true

answer. What sustains equality and liberty is fellow felling. What the French Revolutionists called fraternity. The word fraternity is not an adequate expression. The proper term is what the Buddha called, Maitree. Without fraternity, Liberty would destroy equality and equality would destroy liberty. If in democracy liberty does not destroy equality and equality does not destroy liberty, it is because at the basis of both there is fraternity. Fraternity is therefore the root of democracy."

* W. & S.Vol. 4-p-283-284

Conditions for successful working of democracy

"The first condition which I think is a condition precedent for the successful working of the democracy is that there must be no glaring inequalities in the society. There must not be an oppressed class. There must not be a suppressed class. There must not be a class, which has got all the privileges, and a class, which has got all the burdens to carry. Such a thing, such a division, such an organization of a society has within itself the germs of a bloody revolution, and perhaps it would be impossible for the democracy to cure them .....I understand it, that the deep cleavages between class and class are going to be one of the greatest hindrances in the success of democracy. Because in democracy what happens? In democracy, everybody, even the oppressed, the suppressed, those who are deprived of their rights and those who carry the burden, they have the right to vote in the same way as those who have all the privileges, and probably those who are privileged are fewer than those who are unprivileged and since we adopt a majority rule as the rule of decision, it is quite possible that if the privileged few will not willingly and voluntarily surrender their privileges, then the distance between them and the lower orders will destroy democracy and bring into existence something quite different . There is, therefore, no doubt in my mind that if you examine the history of democracy in various parts of the world, you will find that one of the causes for the breakdown of democracy is the existence of these social cleavage."

"**The second thing** which a successful working of democracy requires is the existence of opposition .....What does democracy mean? I am not defining it. I am asking a functional question. It seems to me that democracy means a veto of power. Democracy is a contradiction of hereditary authority or autocratic authority. democracy means that at some stage somewhere there must be a veto on the authority of those who are ruling the country. In autocracy there is veto.....But in democracy we have provided, that at every five years those who are in authority must go to the people and ask whether in the opinion of the people they are well qualified to be entrusted with power and authority to look after their interest, to mould their destiny, to defend them. That is what I call veto. Now, a democracy is not satisfied with a quinquennial veto that the Government should go at the end of five years only to the people and in the meantime there should be nobody to question the authority of the Government.

democracy requires that not only that the Government should be subject to the veto, long-term veto of five years , at the hands of the people, but there must be an immediate veto. There must be people in the Parliament immediately ready there and then to challenge the Government. Now, if you understand what I am saying, democracy means that nobody has any perceptual authority to rule, but that rule is subject to sanction by the people and can be challenged in the house itself. You will see how important it is to have an opposition. Opposition means that the Government is always on the anvil....."The opposition is a condition precedent for democracy." But do you know that in England not only is the opposition recognized, but the leader of the opposition is paid a salary by the Government in order to run the opposition. He gets a secretary, he gets a small staff of stenographers and writers, he has a room in the House of Commons where he does his business."

"**I think there is third condition** which may also be called a condition precedent for the success of democracy and that is equality in law and administration. One need not at this stage delight too much on equality before the law although there might be cases here and there when there is no equality before the law. But what is important is equality of treatment in administration."

"**The fourth condition** precedent, in my judgement, for the successful working of democracy is the observance of Constitutional morality. Many people seem to be very enthusiastic about the Constitution ..... But what we forget is that we have a Constitution which contains legal provisions, only a skeleton. The flesh of that skeleton is to be found in what we call Constitutional morality....."

"**There is one other thing** which I think is very necessary in the working of democracy and it is this that in the name of democracy there must be no tyranny of the majority over the minority.....What happens is that these minorities develop a contempt for Parliamentary people and develop a revolutionary spirit something unconstitutional. It is therefore necessary that when democracy is working, the majority on which it is based must not act in a tyrannical manner."

"**One other point** I will refer and then close. I think that democracy does require the functioning of moral order in society. Somehow, our political scientists have never considered this aspect of democracy. Ethics is something separate from politics. You may learn politics and you may know nothing about ethics as though politics can work without ethics. To my mind it is an astounding proposition. After all, in democracy what happens? democracy is spoken of as free Government. And what do we mean by free Government? Free Government means that in vast aspects of social life people are left free to carry on without interference of law, or if law has to be made, then the law maker expects that society will have enough morality in it to make the law success. The only person, who, I think, has referred to this aspect of democracy, is Laski. In one of his

books he has very categorically stated that the moral order is always taken for granted in democracy. If there is no moral order, democracy will go to pieces as it is going now probably in our own country."

"**The last thing** that I refer to is that democracy requires 'public conscience.'.....Public conscience means conscience which becomes agitated at every wrong, no matter who is the sufferer and it means that everybody whether he suffers that particular wrong or not, is prepared to join him in order to get him relieved...everywhere in the village and yet I have very seldom found anybody not belonging to the scheduled class taking up; the cause of the scheduled class and fighting, and why ? Because there is no "public conscience." Myself and my India is the only world within which I am bound. If this sort of thing happens. The minority, which is suffering from injustice, gets no help from others for the purpose of getting rid of this injustice. It again develops a revolutionary mentality, which puts democracy in danger."

* W. & S.-Vol-17(III)-P-475-485

Causes for failure of democracy -

"Democracy is another name for equality. Parliamentary democracy developed a passion for liberty. It never made even a nodding acquaintance with equality. It failed to realize the significance of equality and did not even endeavor to strike a balance between liberty and equality with the result that liberty swallowed equality and has left a progeny of inequalities."

"I have referred to the wrong ideologies, which in my judgement have been responsible for the failure of parliamentary democracy. But I am equally certain that more than bad ideology it has bad organization, which has been responsible for the failure of democracy. All political societies get divided into two classes.... The Rulers and the Ruled. This is an evil. If the evil stopped here it would not matter much. But the unfortunate part of it is that the division becomes stereotyped and stratified so much so that the Rulers are always drawn from the ruling class and the class of the Ruled never becomes the Ruling class. People do not govern themselves, they establish a Government and leave it to govern them, forgetting that is not their Government . That being the situation Parliamentary democracy has never been a government of the people or by the people and that is why it has never been a government for the people. Parliamentary democracy notwithstanding the paraphernalia of a popular government is in reality a government of a hereditary subject class by a hereditary ruling class. It is this vicious organization of political life, which has made Parliamentary democracy such a dismal failure. It is because of this that Parliamentary democracy has not fulfilled the hope it held out the common man of ensuring to him liberty, property and pursuit of happiness."

* W. & S.Vol-10-p-108-109

Self Government - ultimate principle of democracy -

"..... it is necessary to remember that in a democracy, the ultimate

principle is after all self government and that means that final decision on all matters must be made by popularly elected persons and not by experts."

* W. & S.Vol. 2 - p - 347

2. FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY IN INDIA

Democracy was prevalent in Buddhist India

"Parliamentary Democracy is unknown to us at present. But India, at one time had Parliamentary Institutions. India was far more advanced in ancient times. If you go through the 'Suttas' of Mahaparinibbana, you will find ample evidence in support of my point. In these 'Suttas' it is stated that while Bhagwan Buddha was dying at Kusinara (Kusinagara) a message to the effect was sent to the Mallas who were sitting in session at that time. They were devoted to Parliamentary Institution. When they received the message about Buddha, they decided that they shall not close the session, but would carry on with their work and will go to Kusinara after finishing of the business of the Parliament. There are innumerable references in our literature to prove that Parliamentary System of Government was not unknown to us."

".....The system of secret ballot now in vogue is also not new to us. It was followed in Buddhist Sanghas. They had the ballot papers, which they called, 'Salapatraka Grahakas'. Unfortunately, we have lost this entire past heritage that was good. Historians of India must tackle this question as to why these Parliamentary Institutions disappeared from our land..... Ancient India was the master of the World. There was such intellectual freedom in ancient India as was nowhere else to be found. Then why this ancient civilization went to dogs? Why was India subjected to autocratic monarchies? We were familiar with Parliamentary Institutions. We know about votes, voting, committees and other things related to Parliamentary Institutions. Today, Parliamentary System of Government is alien to us."

* W. & S.-Vol-17(III)-P-424

Democracy lost in Brahmanic India

"In examining the possibilities of the origin of democracy or its functioning successfully one must go to the religion of the people and ask-does it teach fraternity or does it not? If it does, the chances for a democratic Government are great. If it does not, the chances are poor. Of course other factors may affect the possibilities. But if fraternity is not there, there is nothing to built democracy on. Why did democracy not grow in India? That is the main question. The answer is quite simple. The Hindu Religion does not teach fraternity. Instead it teaches division of society into classes or Varnas and the maintenance of separate class-consciousness. In such a system where is the room for democracy?"

"The Hindu social system; is undemocratic not by accident. It is designed to be undemocratic. Its division of society into Varnas and castes

and of castes and outcastes are not theories but are decrees. They are all barricades raised against democracy."

* W. & S.-Vol-4-P-284

Democracy came back with advent of British in India

"There can be no doubt that the advent of the British in India has been a great boon to the country. Without this providential connection it seems to me very doubtful if the intellectual awakening of India could have been as great or as fast. Without the contact of European Civilization with its basic conceptions of liberty, equality and fraternity Indian Society could never have been driven to feel the sense of shame in respect of the many social customs that have been recognized as part of its social and moral code. It is this live contact between the two civilizations which has by cruel contrast forced upon India the revaluation of its social values and the recognition of many of its social customs as so many social wrongs. This has set India as nothing could have done on the road to regeneration. Without the advent of the British, India could never have had the tremendous advantage of a common system of government and a common system of law. These are instruments of no mean potency for the welfare of any country. But their value to India is inestimable. They have prepared the soil of India for the roots of Indian nationalism to go to the depth they have gone and have also laid down the foundations of a stable Government."

* W. & S.-Vol-17(III)-P-45

Caution about the future of democracy in India

"Democracy in this country is like a summer sapling. Without social unity, the roots of sapling cannot be strengthened. If social unity is not achieved this summer sapling of democracy, will be rooted out with gust of summer wind."

W. & S.Vol. 17(I) - p - XXIII(Editorial)

"Democracy in India is only a top dressing on an India soil, which is essentially undemocratic."

* W. & S.-Vol-13-P-61

".....the future of democracy in India is very dark. But, I do not want to say that I have not other moments when I feel that if all of us put our shoulders together and pledge ourselves to "Constitutional morality" we should be able to build up a regular party system in which there could be liberty, equality and fraternity."

* W. & S.-Vol-17(II)-P-378

Existence of caste system is a standing denial of democracy

"Democracy is quite different from a Republic as well as from Parliamentary Government. The roots of democracy lie not in the form of Government, Parliamentary or otherwise. A democracy is more than a

form of Government. It is primarily a mode of associated living. The roots of democracy are to be searched in the social relationship, in the terms of associated life between the people who form a society.

What does the word 'Society' connote? To put it briefly when we speak of 'Society,' we conceive of it as one by its very nature. The qualities which accompany this unity are praise worthy community of purpose and desire for welfare, loyalty to public ends and mutuality of sympathy and co-operation.

Are these ideals to be found in Indian Society? The Indian Society does not consist of individuals. It consists of an innumerable collection of castes, which are exclusive in their life and have no common experience to share and have no bond of sympathy. Given this fact it is not necessary to argue the point, The existence of the Caste System; is a standing denial of the existence of those ideals of society and therefore of democracy.

Indian Society is so imbedded in the Caste System that every thing is organized on the basis of caste. Enter Indian Society and you can see caste in its glaring form. An Indian cannot eat or marry with an Indian simply because he or she does not belong to his or her caste. An Indian cannot touch an Indian because he or she does not belong to his or her caste. Go and enter politics and you can see caste reflected therein. How does an Indian vote in an election? He votes for a candidate who belongs to his own caste and no other. Even the Indian Congress exploits the Caste System for election purpose as no other political party in India does. Examine the lists of its candidates in relation to the social composition of the constituencies and it will be found that the candidate belongs to the caste, which is the largest one in that constituency. The Congress, as a matter of fact, is upholding the Caste System against which it is out worldly raising a outcry against the existence of caste.

Go into the field of industry. What will you find? You will find that all the topmost men drawing the highest salary belong to the caste of the particular industrialist who owns the industry. The rest hang on for life on the lowest rungs of the ladder on a pittance. Go into the field of commerce and you will see the same picture. The whole commercial house is one camp of one caste, with no entry board on the door for others.

Go into the field of charity. With one or two exceptions all charity in India is communal. If a Parsi dies, he leaves his money for Parsis. If a Jain dies, he leaves his money for Jains, If a Marwadi dies, he leaves his money for Marwadis. If a Brahmin dies, he leaves his money for Brahmins. Thus, there is no room for the downtrodden and the outcastes in politics, in industry, in commerce, and in education.

There are other special features of the Caste System, which have their evil effects and which militate against democracy. One such special feature of the Caste System lies in its being accompanied by what is called 'Graded Inequality'. Castes are not equal in their status. They are standing

one above another. They are jealous of one another. It is an ascending scale of hatred and descending scale of contempt. This feature of the Caste System has most pernicious consequences. It destroys willing and helpful co-operation.

Caste and class differ in the fact that in the Class System there is no complete isolation as there is in the Caste System. This is the second evil effect in the Caste System accompanied by inequality. This manifests itself in the fact that the stimulus and response between two castes is only one-sided. The higher caste act in one recognized way and the lower caste must respond in one established way. It means that when there is no equitable opportunity to receive the stimulus from and to return the response from different caste, the result is that the influences, which educate some into masters, educate others into slaves. The experience of each party loses its meaning when the free interchange of varying modes of life experience is arrested. It results into a separation of society, into a privileged and a subject class. Such a separation prevents social endosmosis.

There is a third characteristic of the Caste System which depicts the evils thereof which cuts at the very roots of democracy. It is that one caste is bound to one occupation. Society is no doubt stable organized when each individual is doing that for which he has aptitude by nature in such a way as to be useful to others; and that it is the business of society to discover these aptitudes and progressively to train them for social use. But there is in a man an indefinite plurality of capacities and activities, which may characterize an individual. A society to be democratic should open a way to use all the capacities of the individual. Stratification is stunting of growth of the individual and deliberate stunting is a deliberate denial of democracy."

* W. & S.Vol-17(III)-p- 519-521

The Congress fighting for not to establish democracy

"The Congress in fighting for the freedom of the country is really fighting not to establish democracy but is planning to resuscitate the ancient Hindu polity of a hereditary governing class ruling a hereditary servile class."

* W. & S.Vol. 9 - p - 450

Fundamental considerations which goes to the root of democracy

"There are certain fundamental considerations which go to the root of democracy and which they cannot ignore without peril to democracy. For the sake of clarity these considerations may be set down in serial order.

First is the recognition of the hard fact of history that in every country there exist two classes, the governing class and the servile class between whom there is a continuous struggle for power. Second is that by reason

of its power and prestige the governing class finds it easy to maintain its supremacy over the service class. Third is that adult suffrage and frequent elections are no bar against governing class reaching places of power and authority . Fourth is that on account of their inferiority complex the members of the servile classes regard the members of the governing class as their natural leaders and the servile classes themselves volunteer to elect members of the governing classes as their rulers. Fifth is that the existence of a governing class is inconsistent with democracy and self-government and that given the fact that where the governing class retains its power to govern, it is wrong to believe that democracy and self-government have became realities of life. **Sixth is that self government and democracy become real not when a Constitution based on adult suffrage comes into existence but when the governing class loses its power to capture the power to govern.** Seventh is that while in some countries the servile classes may succeed in ousting the governing class from the seat of authority with nothing more than adult suffrage, in other countries the governing class may be so deeply entrenched that the servile classes will need other safeguards besides adult suffrage to achieve the same end."

* W. & S.Vol.9-p-447-448

Who constitute the governing class in India?

"It is of course impossible for the Brahmins to maintain their supremacy as a governing class without an ally to help them on account of their being numerically very small. Consequently, as history shows, the Brahmins have always had other classes as their allies to whom they were ready to accord the status of a governing class provided they were prepared to work with them; in subordinate co-operation. In ancient and mediaeval times they made such an alliance with the Kshatriyas or the warrior class and the two not merely ruled the masses, but ground them down to atoms, pulverized them so to say the Brahmin with his pen and the kshatriya with his sword. At present, Brahmins have made an alliance with the Vaishya class called Banias. The shifting of this alliance from the Kshatriya to the Bania is in the changed circumstances quite inevitable. In these days of commerce money is more important than sword. That is one reason for this change in party alignment. The second reason is the need for money to run the political machine. Money can come only from and is in fact coming from the Bania. If the Bania is financing the Congress it is because he has realized and Mr. Gandhi has taught him that money invested in politics gives large dividends.....Being dependent on his money. It is impossible for the Brahmin to exclude the Bania from the position of a governing class. In fact, the Brahmin has established not merely a working but a cordial alliance with the Bania. The result is that governing class in India today is a Brahmin-Bania instead of a Brahmin-Kshatriya combine as it used to be."

* W. & S.Vol. 9-p-452-454

Who constitute the servile class in India?

".....the servile classes, the Shudras (the old name for the non-

Brahmins) and the Untouchables who together constitute about 80 or 90 percent. of the total Hindu population of India."

* W. & S.Vol. 9 - p - 467

The social outlook and social philosophy of the governing class

" Starting with the Brahmins who form a strong and powerful element in the governing class in India it is no exaggeration to say that they have been the most inveterate enemies of the servile classes, the Shudras(the old name for the non Brahmins) and the Untouchables who together constitute about 80 or 90 percent. of the total Hindu population of India. If the common man belonging to the servile classes in India is today so fallen, so degraded, so devoid of self-respect, hope or ambition, and so lifeless, it is entirely due to the Brahmins and their philosophy."

* W. & S.Vol. 9-p-467-468

"If the large majority of people of India appear today to be thoroughly emasculated, spiritless, with no manliness, it is the result of the Brahmanic policy of wholesale disarmament to which they have been subjected for the untold ages. There is no social evil and no social wrong to which the Brahmin has not given his support, Man's inhumanity to man, such as the feeling of caste, untouchability, unapproachability and unseeability is a religion to him."

* W. & S.Vol. 9 - p - 469

" The record of the Brahmins as law givers for the Shudras, for the Untouchables and for women is the blackest as compared with the record of the intellectual classes in other parts of the world. For no intellectual class has prostituted its intelligence for the sole purpose of inventing a philosophy to keep his uneducated countrymen in a perpetual state of servility, ignorance and poverty as the Brahmins have done in India. Every Brahmin today believes in this philosophy of Brahmanism propounded by his forefathers, He is an alien element in the Hindu society. The Brahmin vis-_-vis the Shudras and the Untouchables is as foreign as the German is to the French, as the Jew is to the Gentile or as the white is to the Negro. There is a real gulf between him and the lower classes of Shudras and Untouchables. He is not only alien to them but he is also hostile to them. In relationship with them there is in him no room for conscience and no call for justice.

The Bania is the worst parasitic class known to history. In him the vice of moneymaking is unredeemed by culture or conscience. He is like an undertaker who prospers when there is an epidemic. The only difference between the under-taker and the Bania is that the undertaker does not create an-epidemic while the Bania does. He dose not uses his money for productive purposes. He uses it to create poverty and more property by lending money for unproductive purposes. He lives on interest and as he is told by his religion that; money lending is the occupation prescribed to

him by the divine Manu, he looks upon money lending as both right and righteous. With the help and assistance of the Brahmin judge who is ready to decree his suits, the Bania is able to carry on his trade with the greatest ease. Interest, interest on interest, he adds on and on, and thereby draws millions of families perpetually into his net. Pay him as much as he may, the debtor is always in debt. With no conscience to check him there is no fraud, and there is no chicanery which he will not commit. His grip over the nation is complete. The whole of poor, starving, illiterate India is irredeemably mortgaged to the Bania.

In every country there is a governing class. No country is free from it. But is there any where in the world a governing class with such selfish, diseased and dangerous and perverse mentality, with such a hideous and infamous philosophy of life which advocates the trampling down of the servile classes to sustain the power and glory of the governing class? I know of none. It is true that the governing classes in other countries do not readily admit into their society those who do not belong to their class. But they do not refuse admission to those who have risen to their level, nor do they prevent any person from rising to their level. In India the governing class is a close corporation unwilling to admit anyone who does not belong to it by birth and ready to use every means to prevent the servile classes from rising to their level."

W. & S.-Vol-9-p-469-470

The main problems

" The main problems, which those desirous of establishing democracy in India must face, are:- (1) the position of the governing class of India, (2) the aims and objects of the governing class to wards the servile classes, (3) the raison d'etre of the demands of the servile classes for Constitutional safeguards and (4) the relation of the governing class to the Congress.

Regarding the first point the argument is that the position of the governing class in India is quite different from the position of the governing classes in other countries of the world. It is not easy to understand this difference, nor is it easy to state it in expressive terms. Perhaps the illustration of a bar and a hyphen may help to give a clear ides of what the difference is. Nobody can mistake the difference between a hyphen and a bar. A bar divides but does not link. A hyphen does both. It divides but it also links. In India the governing classes and the servile classes are divided by a bar, In other countries there exists between them only a hyphen. The resultant difference is a very crucial one. In other countries, there is a continuous replenishment of the governing class by the incorporation of others who do not belong to it but who have reached the same elevation as the governing class. In India, the governing class is a close corporation in which nobody, not born in it, is admitted. In other countries where the governing class is not a close preserve, where there is social endosmosis between it and the rest, there is a mental assimilation and accommodation

which makes the governing class less antagonistic in its composition and less antagonistic to the servile classes in its social philosophy. In other words, the governing class in countries outside India is not anti-social. It is only non-social. In India where the governing class is a close corporation, tradition social philosophy and social outlook which are antagonistic to the servile classes remain unbroken in their depth and their tenor and the distinction between masters and slaves, between the privileged and the unprivileged continues for ever hard in substance and fast in colour. In other words the governing class in India is not merely non-social. It is positively anti-social.

As to the demand for reservations by the servile classes the reason behing it is to put a limit on the power of the governing classes to have control over the instrumentalities of government. The governing classes are bent on giving the reservations a bad name in order to be able to hang those who are insisting upon them. The real fact is that the reservations are only another name for what the Americans call cheeks and balances which every Constitution must have if democracy is not to be overwhelmed by the enemies of democracy. That the reservations damanded by the servile classes are different in form the American sort of checks and balances does not alter their character. The forms of checks and balances must be determined by two considerations, The first is the necessity of establishing a co-relation between the political Constitution and social institutions of the country if democracy is to be real. As the social institutions of countries differ in their form the checks and balances in its political Constitutions must also differ. For instance, where a country is ridden by the caste system the checks and balances will have to be of a different sort from what they need be in a country pervaded by a spirit of social democracy. The second is the necessity of providing a firm flooring to the servile classes against the possibility of their being pressed down by the governing classes by reason of their superior power.....

.....the last point namely the relation of the Congress to the governing classes have also been fully set out. Form these facts the foreigner should be able to see how intimate is the connection between the two. The same facts will explain why the governing class in India has placed itself in the vanguard of the Congress movement and why it strives to bring everybody within the Congress fold. To put it briefly the governing class is aware that a political campaing based on class ideololgy and class conflicts will toll its death knell. It knows that the most effactive way of side-tracking the servile classes and fooling them is to play upon the sentiment of nationalism and national unity. .....It clings to the Congress because it realized that the Congress platform is the only platform that can most effectively safeguard the interest of the governing class. For if there is any platform from which all talk of conflict between rich and poor, Brahmin and non-Brahmin, landlord and tenant, creditior and debtor, which does not suit the governing class, can be effectully banned it is the

Congress platform which is not only bound to preach nationalism and national unity-this is what the governing class wants ....."

* W. & S.Vol. 9-p-481-483

The greatest danger to democracy

"Those who wish that democracy and self-government should come into their own, and should not remain as mere forms, cannot do better than start with the recognition of the crucial fact that the existence of a permanently settled governing class is the greatest danger to democracy. It is the only safe and realistic approach for a democrat to adopt. It is a fatal blunder to omit to take account of its existence in coming to a conclusion to whether in a free country freedom will be the privilege of the governing class only or it will be the possession of all "

* W. & S.Vol. 9-p-449

The governing class will not decree the destruction of Brahmanism

".....the Congress means the governing class and that the governing class in India is a Brahmin-Bania combine? Those masses are drawn in the Congress only to be camp followers with no say in the making of Congress policy? Do they not realise that for the reasons for which the Sultan could not abolish Islam or the Pope could not repudiate Catholicism, the governing class in India will not decree the destruction of Brahminism and that so long as the governing class remains what it is, Brahminism, which preaches the supremacy of Brahmins and the allied castes and which recognizes the suppression and degradation of the Shudras and the Untouchables as the sacred duty of the State, will continue to be the philosophy of the State even if India became free?"

* W. & S.Vol. 9-p-485-486

Governing classes will withdraw the facilities first

"If it is left to governing classes to make what it likes of Swaraj the principal item in it will be the suppression of the servile classes by withdrawing the facilities given by the British Government in the matter of education and entry in public services."

* W. & S.Vol. 9 - p - 483

The servile class may liquidated the governing class

"In the world of today, no governing class can omit to undertake reforms, which are necessary to maintain society in a civilized state. Apart from this, is social amelioration the be-all and end-all of Swaraj? Knowing the servile classes as I do that is certainly not the fault of the servile classes. They certainly do not intend to follow the teaching that 'themselves meek shall eat and be satisfied.' The want and poverty which has been their lot for centuries is nothing to them as compared to the insult and

indignity which they have to bear as a result of the vicious social order. Not bread but honour, is what they want. That can happen only when the governing classes disappear and cease to have control over their destiny. The question for the servile classes is not whether this reform or that reform will be undertaken. The question is; will the governing classes in India having captured the machinery of the State, undertake a programme for the reform of the social order where by the governing class will be liquidated, as distinguished from a programme of social amelioration? The answer to this depends upon whether the future Constitution of India will be with safeguards or without safeguards for the protection of the servile classes. **If it will have safeguards it will be possible for the servile classes to liquidate the governing classes in course of time."**

* W. & S.Vol. 9 - p - 484

Things necessary for maintenance of democracy -

"If we wish to maintain democracy not merely in form but also in fact. What must we do ? The first thing in my judgement we must do is to hold fast to Constitutional methods of achieving our social and economic objective. It means we must abandon the bloody methods of revolution. It means that we must abandon the method of civil disobedience, non-co-operation and satyagrahs. When there was no way left for Constitutional methods for achieving economic and social objective there was a great deal of justification for unconstitutional methods. But where Constitutional methods are open there can be no justification for these unconstitutional methods. These methods are nothing but the grammar of anarchy and sooner they are abandoned the better for us."

"The second thing we must do is to observed the caution which Johan Stuart Mill has given to all who are interested in the maintenance of democracy namely not to lay their liberties at the feet of even a great man or to trust him with powers which enable him to subvert their institutions." There is nothing wrong in being grateful to great man who have rendered life long services to the country. But there are limits to gratefulness. As has been well said by the Irish patriot Denial O' Connel. 'No man can be grateful at the cost of his honour, no woman can be grateful at the cost of her chastity and no nation can be grateful at the cost of its liberty. 'This caution is far more necessary in the case of India than in the case of any other country. For in India Bhakti or what may be called the path of devotion or here worship plays a part in its politics unequalled in magnitude by the part it plays in the politics of any other country in the world. Bhakti in religion may be a road to the salvation of the soil. But in politics Bhakti or hero-worship is a sure road to degradation and to eventual dictatorship."

"The third thing we must do is not to be content with mare political democracy. We must make our political democracy a social democracy as well. Political democracy can not last unless there lies at the base of it social democracy. What does social democracy mean? It means a way of

life which recognize liberty, equality and fraternity as the principles of life. These principles of liberty, equality and fraternity are not being treated as separate items in a trinity. They form a union of trinity in the sense that to divorce one from the other is to defeat the very purpose of democracy. Liberty can not be divorced from equality, equality can not be divorced from liberty. Nor can liberty and equality be divorced from fraternity. Without equality liberty would produce the supremacy of the few over the many. Equality without liberty would kill individual initiative. Without fraternity liberty and equality could not become a natural course of things. It would require a constable to enforce them. We must begin by acknowledging the fact that there is complete absence of two things in Indian society. One of these is equality . On the social plane we have in India a society based on the principle of graded inequality, which means elevation for some and degradation for others. On the economic plane we have a society in which there are some who have immense wealth against many who live in abject poverty."

W. & S. Vol.13-p-1215

You ought to consider to make our democracy safe

".....the subject about which I have spoken this evening, to my mind, is a subject of the greatest importance to this nation. We have somehow developed the idea that we have got independence. The Britishers have gone. We have got a Constitution, which provides for democracy. Well what more do we want? We cannot rest as we say on our ears, and do nothing more. Let me warn you against this kind of smug feeling that with the making of the Constitution our task is done. It is not done. It has only begun. You must remember that democracy is not a plant, which grows everywhere. It has grown in America. It has grown in England. To some extent it has grown in France. Yes these are examples by which we can take a certain amount of courage to ourselves to see what has happened elsewhere. You must be remembering that as a result of the first European War and the break-up of the Austria-Hungarian Empire, Wilson created, on the basis of self-determination, small nationalities independent of Austria. They all began with democratic Constitution, democratic government and they had also Fundamental Rights provided in their Constitution which was made obligatory for them to have the Peace Treaty of Versailles. My friends, what has happened to that democracy? Do you see any trace of it there now? It has all gone. It has all vanished. They are probably under the dominance or surveillance of other countries. There is no democracy left. Take some of the most recent examples. Syria had got a democratic government. After a few years there was a military rebellion and the Commander-in-Chief of Syria became the ruler of Syria and democracy vanished in air. Take another example. What happened in Egypt? There too, they had been a democratic government beginning right from 1922 for 30 years. In one night Faruk had to leave and Nagib became the dictator of Egypt and he abolished the Constitution.

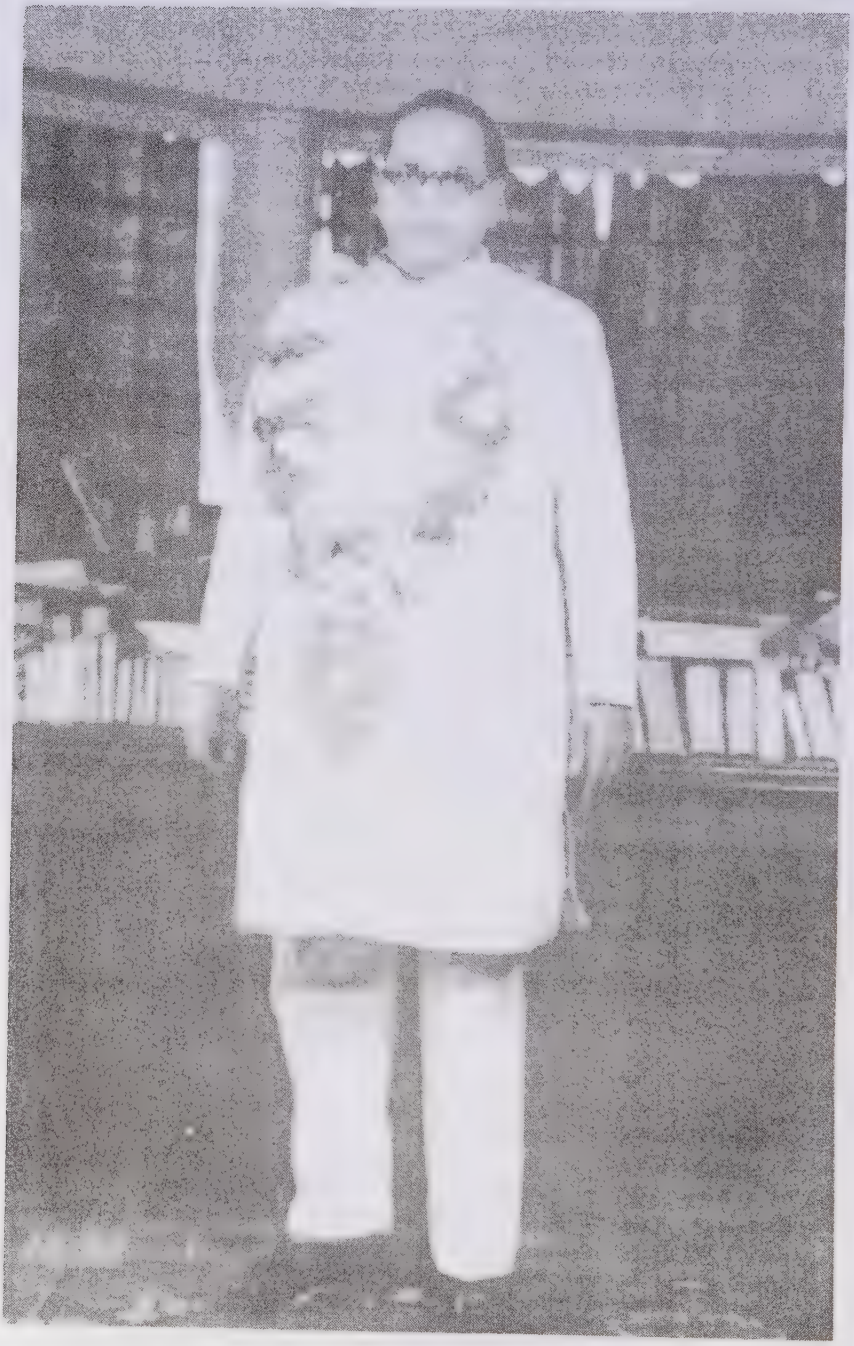
With all these examples before us, I think we ought to be very cautious

and very considerate regarding our own future. You ought to consider whether we ought not to take some very positive steps in order to remove some of the stones and the boulders, which are lying in our path in order to make our democracy safe. If, as a result of these few observations I have made, I have effected in you a consciousness that this is a problem on which we cannot afford to sleep, I think I would thank myself for the work I have done."

* W. & S.-Vol-17(III)-P-485-486

"...the true democracy in India could be safe only in the hands of the non- Brahmin party...."

* S. &. M.-Vol.- 1 - p - 264



7. INDIAN CONSTITUTION AND ITS SALIENT FEATURE

1. INDIAN CONSTITUTION

What is Constitution?

"……the Constitution, as I stated in my opening speech in support of the motion. I made before the House, is merely a mechanism for the purpose of regulating the work of the various organs of the state. It is not a mechanism whereby particular members of particular parties are installed in office. What should be the policy of the state how the society should be organized in its social and economic side are matters which must be decided by the people themselves according to time and circumstances. It can not be laid down in the Constitution itself, because that is destroying democracy altogether."

* W. & S.-Vol-13-P- 326

"The Constitution is a Fundamental document. It is a document, which defines the position and power of the three organs of the state the executive, the Judiciary and the legislature. It also defines the powers of the executive and the powers of the legislature as against the citizens, as we have done in our chapter dealing with Fundamental Rights. In fact, the purpose of a Constitution is not merely to create the organs of the state but to limit their authority, because if no limitation was imposed upon the authority of the organs there will be complete tyranny and complete oppression. The legislature may be free to frame any law the executive may be free to take any decision and the Supreme Court may be free to give any interpretation of the law."

* W. & S.-Vol-13-P-1057

Object in framing the Constitution

"……I should take a few minutes of the house in order to explain what I regard as the Fundamental position taken in the Constitution. As I stated, our Constitution as a piece of mechanism lays down what is called parliamentary democracy. By parliamentary democracy we mean "one man, one vote". We also mean that every Government shall be on the anvil, both in its daily affairs and also at the end of a certain period when the voters and the electorate will be given an opportunity to assess the work done by the government. The reason why we have established in this Constitution a political democracy is because we do not want to install by any means whatsoever a perpetual dictatorship of any particular body of people. While we have established political democracy, it is also the desire that we should lay down as our ideal economic democracy. We don't want merely to lay down a mechanism to enable people to come and capture power. The Constitution also wishes to lay down an ideal before those who would be forming the Government. That Ideal is economic

democracy. Whereby so far as I am concerned, I understand to mean " One man, One vote ". The question is have we got any fixed idea as to how we should bring about economic democracy? There are various ways in which people believe that economic democracy can be brought about, there are those who believe in having a Socialistic state as the best form of economic democracy, there are those who believe in the Communistic idea as the most perfect form of economic democracy.

Now having regard to the fact that these various ways by which economic democracy may be brought about, we have deliberately introduced in language that we have used in the directive principles, something which is not fixed or rigid. We have left enough room for people of different ways of thinking. With regard to the reaching of the Ideal of the economic democracy to strive in their own way to persuade the electorate that it is the best way of reaching economic democracy, the fullest opportunity to act in the way in which they want to act.

Sir, that is the reason why the language of the articles in part IV is left in the manner in which this Drafting Committee thought it best to leave it. It is no use giving a fixed, rigid form to something, which is Fundamentally changing and must having regard to the circumstances and the times, keep on changing. It is therefore no use saying that the directive principles have no value. In my judgement, the directive principles have a great value for they lay down that our ideal is economic democracy. Because we did not want merely a parliamentary form of Government to be instituted through the various mechanism provided in the Constitution, without any direction as to what our economic ideal, as to what our social order ought to be, we deliberately included the Directive Principles in our Constitution. I think if the friends who are agitated over this question bear in mind what I have said just now that our object in framing this Constitution is really two fold (1) to lay down the form of political democracy and (II) to lay down that our ideal is economic democracy, and also to prescribe that every Government whatever, it is in power, shall strive to bring about economic democracy, much of the misunderstanding under which most members are Labouring will disappear."

W. & S.-VOL-13-P- 351, 352

British system not suitable

" In India the majority is a communal majority. No matter what social and political programme it may have the majority will retain its character of being a communal majority. Nothing can alter this fact. Given this fact it is clear that if the British system were copied it would result in permanently vesting executive power in a communal majority."

* W. & S.-Vol-1-P- 413

The Constituion is good enough

"No Constitution is perfect and the Drafting Committee itself is

suggesting certain amendments to improve the Draft Constitution. But the debates in the Provincial Assemblies give me courage to say that the Constitution as settled by the Drafting Committee is good enough to make in this country a start with. I feel that it is 'workable, it is flexible and it is strong enough to hold the country together both in peace time and in war time . Indeed, If I may say so, If things go wrong under the new Constitution the reason will not be that we had a bad Constitution. What will have to say is that man was vile."

* W. & S.-Vol-13-P- 70

".....it seems to me that a modern Constitution can proceed only on two bases. One base is to have a parliamentary system of government. The other base is to have a totalitarian dictatorial form of government. If we agree that our Constitution must not be a dictatorship but must be a Constitution in which there is Parliamentary democracy where government is all the time on the anvil, so to say, or its trial, responsible to the people, responsible to the Judiciary, then I have no hesitation in saying that the principles embodied in this Constitution are as good as, if not better than, the principles embodied in any other Parliamentary Constitution."

* W. & S.-Vol-13-P- 1058

This Constitution -the views of present generation

"The condemnation of the Constitution largely comes from two quarters, the Communist party and the Socialist party. Why do they condemn the Constitution? Is it because it is really a bad Constitution? I venture to say "no" the Communist party wants a Constitution based upon the principle of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. They condemn the Constitution because it is based upon parliamentary democracy. The Socialists want two things. The first thing they want is that if they come in the power, the Constitution must give them the freedom to nationalize or socialize all private property without payment of compensation. The second thing that the Socialists want is that the Fundamental Rights mentioned in the Constitution must be absolute and without any limitations so that if their party fails to come into power, they would have the unfettered freedom not merely to criticize, but also to overthrow the State.

There are the main grounds on which the Constitution is being condemned. I do not say that the principle of parliamentary democracy is the only ideal form of political democracy. I do not say that principle of no acquisition of private property without compensation is so sacrosanct that there can be no departure from it. I do not say that Fundamental Rights can never be absolute and the limitations set upon them can never be lifted. What I do say is that the principles embodied in the Constitution are the views of the present generation or if you think this to be an over statement, I say they are the views of the members of the Constituent Assembly. Why blame the Drafting Committee for embodying them in the Constitution. I say why blame even the members of the Constitution Assembly?"

W. & S. -vol-13-P- 1210

Constitution is not a blind and slavish imitation

"It is said that there is nothing new in the Draft Constitution. That about half of it had been copied from the Government of India Act of 1935 and that the rest of it has been borrowed from the Constitutions of other countries . Very little of it can claim originality.

One likes to ask whether there can be anything new in a Constitution framed at this hour in the history of the world. More than hundred years have rolled over when the first written Constitution was drafted. It has been followed by many countries reducing their Constitution to writing, what the scope of a Constitution should be has long been settled. Similarly what are the fundamentals of a Constitution are recognized all over the world. Given these facts all Constitutions in their main provisions must look similar. The only new things, if there can be any, in a Constitution framed so late in the day are the variations made to remove the faults and to accommodate it to the needs of the country. The charge of producing a blind copy of the Constitutions of other countries is based, I am sure, on an inadequate study of the Constitution, I have shown, what is new in the Draft Constitution and I am sure that those who have studied other Constitutions and who are prepared to consider the matter dispassionately will agree that the Drafting Committee is performing its duty has not been guilty of such blind and slavish imitation as it is represented to be."

* W. & S. Vol.l3- P-59

Working of Constitution depends on people and political parties

"Because I feel, however good a Constitution may be, it is sure to out bad because those who are called to work, it happen to be a bad lot. However bad a Constitution may be, it, may turn out to be good if those who are called to work it happen to be a good lot. The working of a Constitution does not depend wholly upon the nature of the Constitution. The Constitution can provide only the organs of State such as the legislature, the Executive and the Judiciary. The factors on which the working of those organs of State depend are the people and the political parties they will set up as their instruments to carry out their wishes and their politics. Who can say how the people of India and their parties will behave? Will they uphold Constitutional methods of achieving their purposes or will they prefer revolutionary methods of achieving them. ? If they adopt the revolutionary methods, however good the Constitution may be, it requires no prophet, to say that it will fail. It is, therefore, futile to pass any judgement upon the Constitution without reference to the part, which the people and their parties are likely to play."

* W. & S. Vol.l3- P-1210

Necessity of the diffusion of the Constitutional morality

"By Constitutional morality Grote meant "a paramount reverence for the forms of the Constitution, enforcing obedience to authority acting under

and within these forms yet combine with the habit of open speech, of action subject only to definite legal control and unrestrained censure of those very authorities as to all their public acts combined too with a perfect confidence in the bosom of every citizen amidst the bitterness of party contest that the form of the Constitution will not be less sacred in the eyes of his opponent than in his own.

While everybody recognizes the necessity of the diffusion of the Constitutional morality for the peaceful working of a democratic Constitution there are two things inter-connected with it which are not, unfortunately, generally recognized. One is that the form of administration has a close connection with the form of the Constitution. The form of the administration must be appropriate to and in the same sense as the form of the Constitution. The other is that it is perfectly possible to prevent the Constitution, without changing its form by merely changing the form of the administration and to make it inconsistent and opposed to the spirit of the Constitution. It follows that it is only where people are saturated with Constitutional morality such as the one described by Grote.....

.....Constitutional morality is not a natural sentiment. It has to be cultivated. We must realize that our people have yet to learn it. Democracy in India is only a top-dressing on an Indian soil, which is essentially undemocratic."

* W. & S. - Vol -13-P- 60-61

Minorities should not be ignored

".....my friends tell me that I have made the Constitution, but I am quite prepared to say that I shall be the first person to burn it out. I do not want it. It does not suit any body. But whatever that may be, if our people want to carry on, they must not forget that there are majorities and there are minorities, and they simply cannot ignore the minorities by saying, "oh. No". To recognize you is to harm democracy." I should say that the greatest harm would come by injuring the minorities."

* W. & S. - Vol -15-P- 862

".....Last time when I spoke, I said that I wanted to burn the Constitution. Well in a hurry I did not explain the reason. Now that my friend has given me the opportunity, I think I shall give the reason. The reason is this: we built a temple for a God to come in and reside, but before the God could be installed, if the devil had taken possession of it what else could we do except destroy the temple? We did not intend that it should be occupied by the Asuras .We intended it to be occupied by the Devas. That is the reason why I said I would rather like to burn it."

* W. & S. Vol -15 - P - 949

Constitution is a wonderful document

" If I may say so, and I say it with a certain amount of pride the

Constitution which has been given to this country is a wonderful document. It has been said so not by myself, but by many people, many other students of the Constitution. It is the simplest and the easiest. Many publishers have written to me asking me to write a commentary on the Constitution, promising a good sum. But I have always told them that to write a commentary on the Constitution is to admit that the Constitution is a bad one and an ununderstandable one. It is not so, Any one who can follow English can understand the Constitution. No commentary is necessary."

* W. & S. - VOL -15-P- 948

2. SALIENT FEATURES

1. INDIA AS A UNION, THOUGH ITS CONSTITUTION IS FEDERAL

".....the description of India as a Union, though its Constitution is Federal, does no violence to usage. But what is important is that the use of the word Union is deliberate, I do not know why the word 'Union' was used in the Canadian Constitution. But I can tell you why the Drafting Committee has used it. The Drafting Committee wanted to make it clear that though India was to be a Federation, the Federation was not the result of an agreement by the States to join in a Federation and that the Federation not being the result of an agreement no State has the right to secede from it. The Federation is a Union because it is indestructible. Though the country and the people may be divided into different States for convenience of administration the country is one integral whole, its people a single people living under a single imperium derived from a single source."

* W. & S. - VOL. -13-P- 68

2. CONSTITUTION IS UNITARY AS WELL AS FEDERAL

".....the Drafting Constitution can be both unitary as well as federal according to the requirements of time and circumstances. In normal times, it is framed to work as a federal system. But in times of war it is so designed as to make it work as though it was a unitary system."

* W. & S. - VOL -13-P- 55

"The Draft Constitution has sought to forge means and methods where by India will have Federation and at the same time will have uniformity in all the basic matters, which are essential to maintain the unity of the country. The means adopted by the Draft Constitution are three.

1. A single Judiciary.
2. Uniformity in Fundamental laws, civil and criminal and
3. A common All India Civil service to an important posts."

* W. & S. - VOL -13-P- 58

3. FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

"the whole of the criticism about Fundamental Rights is based upon a

misconception. In the first place, the criticism in so far as it seeks to distinguish Fundamental Rights from non-Fundamental Rights is not sound. It is incorrect to say that Fundamental Rights are absolute while non-Fundamental Rights are not absolute. The real distinction between the two is that non-Fundamental Rights are created by agreement between parties while Fundamental Rights are the gift of law. Because Fundamental Rights are the gift of the State it does not follow that the State can not qualify them."

* W. & S. - VOL -13-P- 63

"The object of the Fundamental Rights is two -Fold . First, that every citizen must be in a position to claim those Rights. Secondly they must be binding upon every authority. I shall presently explain what the work " authority " means upon every authority which has got either the power to make laws or the power to have discretion vested in it. Therefore it is quite clear that if the Fundamental Rights are to be clear, then they must be binding not only upon the Central Government, they must not only be binding upon the Provincial Goverment, they must not only be binding upon the Goverment, they must not only be binding upon the Goverment established in the Indian states, they must also be binding upon District Local Boards, Municipalities, even village panchayats and taluka boards infact, every authority which has been created by Law and which has got certain power to make rules ,or make by laws ."

* W.&.S vol.13, p.375

".....apparently there is one difference between the Constitution of India and the Constitution of the United States so far as the Fundamental Rights are concerned. The fundamental rights in the Constitution of the United States are stated in an absolute form; the Constitution doesn't lay down any limitation on the Fundamental Rights setout in the Constitutions. Our Constitution on the other hand, not only lays down the Fundamental Rights but it also enumerates the limitations on the Fundamental Rights, and yet what is the result.? It is an important question to consider. The result is this that the Fundamental Rights in the United States although in the text of the Constitution they appear as absolute, so far as judicial interpretations are concerned, they are riddled with limitations of one sort or another. Nobody can in the United States claim that his Fundamental Rights are absolute and that the Congress has no power to limit them or to regulate them. In our country I find that we are in the midst of a paradox; we have Fundamental Rights, we have limitations imposed upon them, and yet the Supreme Court and the High Court's say, " you shall not have any further limitations upon the Fundamental Rights".

...although the Constitution of the United States is a bundle of bare bones, the United States Supreme Court has clothed it with flesh and muscles so that it has got the firmness of body and agillity which a human beings requires. How has this happened? This has happened because the U.S Supreme Court, although it was the first Court in the world which was called upon to reconcile the Fundamental Rights of the citizen with

the interests of the state, after a great deal of pioneering work came upon two fixed principles of the Constitution. One is that every state possesses what is called in the United States " Police power", a doctrine which means that the State has a right to protect itself whether the Constitution give such a right expressly or not. The " Police Power" is an inherent thing just as our Courts have inherent powers in certain circumstances, to do justice. It is as a result of this doctrine of "police power" that the United States Supreme Court has been able to evolve certain limitations upon the Fundamental Rights of the United States citizens. The second doctrine which the United States Supreme Court developed and which it applied for purposes of interpreting the Constitution is known as the doctrine of "implied powers". According to the decisions of the Supreme Court if any particular authority has been given a certain power, then it must be presumed that it has got other powers to fulfil that power and if those powers are not given expressly then the Supreme Court of the United States is prepared to presume that they are implied in the Constitution."

* W. & S.-Vol-15-P-338 - 339

" The Fundamental Rights are the very basis of the preamble to the Constitution. The preamble says that this Constitution will have as its basis liberty, equality and fraternity. These objectives of the Constitution are carried out by the Fundamental Rights. And it is therefore, the duty, I should have thought, of every Member of Parliament, apart from personal loyalty, to be critical when any invasion is made of the Fundamental Rights. Unfortunately, one does not find this kind of critical attitude. The history of Fundamental Rights in this country is very interesting. In older times under the Hindu Kings there were Fundamental Rights only for two, the Brahmin and the Cow and the Puranas described the king as "Go Brahmans Pratipalaka". That was the duty of a king; whether the other sections of his subject received any consideration at his hands or not, or whether animals other than the "GO" had any consideration was a matter of no moment at all. So long as the Brahmin and the cow were protected, the king was destined to go to heaven.

....Anyone who examines the various Governments of India Acts passed from 1772 to 1935 will find that there were no such thing as Fundamental Rights in any of the Government of India Acts that were passed by Parliament for the administration of this country. It is in 1947 or so when Swaraj became a fact in this country that this Idea of Fundamental Rights emerged. It is our Constitution, which for the first time contains the embodiment of what are called Fundamental Rights.

.....the reason why Indians did not demand Fundamental Rights when the British were here is this. Although the British had their imperialism as one aspect of their rule, there cannot be any doubt that the administration of this country was governed by what was called the rule of justice, equity and good conscience. Sir, I remember, at least speaking for my own Province, how independent was the Judiciary which wholly consisted of Europeans. How independent it was .....

....the British administered this country in a manner in which everybody felt that there was some essence of security. That is the reason why, in my judgement, nobody in this country clamoured for Fundamental Rights. But as soon as Swaraj presented itself, everybody thought at least many of the minorities thought - that there was the prospect of political authority passing into the hands of a majority, which did not possess what might constitutionally be called constitutional morality. Their official doctrine was inequality of classes. Though there is inequality in every community or whatever be the word, that inequality is a matter of practice. It is not an official dogma. But with a majority in this country, inequality, as embodied in their Chaturvarna is an official doctrine. Secondly, their caste system is a sword of political and administrative discrimination. The result was that the Fundamental Rights became inevitable.

....was that the Congress party was so jubilant over the Fundamental Rights. They wanted Fundamental Rights, and they thought that Fundamental Rights were so necessary that if the Indian people had a Constitution, which did not embody Fundamental Rights, they would appear nude to the world. That was the reason why they clamoured for Fundamental Rights. In the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly. I did not find a single member who stood up and said, "we do not want Fundamental Rights." "Fundamental Rights were regarded as a kind of an ornament which the Indian people must have. Today, their attitude has undergone a complete change. Today, they look upon the Fundamental Rights as an iron chain, which ought to be broken, whenever occasion arose for breaking it. This, I find is a Fundamental change. I am sorry to say that this attitude of treating the Fundamental Rights with contempt, as though they were of no consequences that they could be trodden upon at any time with the convenience of the majority or the wishes of a party chief, is an attitude that may easily lead to some dangerous consequences in the future."

*W. &.S - Vol.15, p.944, 947

4. DIRECTIVES PRINCIPLES

"In the Draft Constitution the Fundamental Rights are followed by what are called "Directive principles". It is a novel feature in a Constitution framed for Parliamentary Democracy. The only other Constitution framed for Parliamentary Democracy, which embodies such principles, is that of the Irish Free State. These Directives Principles have also come up for criticism. It is said that they are only pious declarations. They have no binding force. This criticism is of course superfluous. The Constitution itself says so in so many words.

If it is said that the Directive principles have no legal force behind them, I am prepared to admit it. But I am not prepared to admit that they have no sort of binding force at all. Nor I am prepared to concede that they are useless because they have no binding force in law.

.....What are called Directive Principles is merely another name

for instrument of Instructions. The only difference is that they are instructions to the legislature and the Executive. Such a thing is to my mind to be welcomed. Wherever there is a grant of power in general terms for peace, order and good government, it is necessary that it should be accompanied by instructions regulating its exercise.

.....The Draft Constitution as framed only provides machinery for the government of the country. It is not a contrivance to install any particular party in power as has been done in some countries. Who should be in power is left to be determined by the people, as it must be, if the system is to satisfy the tests of democracy. But whoever captures power will not be free to do what he likes with it. In the exercise of it, he will have to respect these instruments of instructions, which are called Directive Principles. He can not ignore them. He may not have to answer for their breach in a Court of law. But he will certainly have to answer for them before the electorate at election time. What great value these Directive Principles will be realized better when the forces of right contrive to capture power."

* W. &.S- Vol.13, p.65

".....I think our Directive Principles are nothing else than a series of provisions, which contain implicity in them the doctrine of implied powers. I find that these Directive Principles are made a matter of fun both by judges and by lawyers appearing before them. An article 37 of the Directive Principles has been made a butt of ridicule. Article 37 says that these Directives are not just justifiable that no one would be entitled to file a suit against the Government, for the purpose of what we call specific performance. I admit that is so. But I respectfully submit that is not the way of disposing of the Directive Principles. What are the Directive Principles?. The Directive Principles are nothing but obligations imposed by the Constitution upon the various Government in this country that they shall do certain things, although it says that they fail to do them, no one will have the right to call for specific performance. But the fact that there are obligations of the government, I think, stands unimpeached. My submission is this, that if these are the obligations of the State. How can the State discharge these obligations unless it undertakes legislation to give effect to them? And if the statement of obligations necessities the imposition and enactment of laws, it is obvious that all these fundamental Principles of Directive policy imply that the State with regard to the matters mentioned in these Directive principles has the implied power to make a law. Therefore, my contention is this, that so far as the doctrine if implied powers is concerned, there is ample authority in the Constitution itself to permit Parliament to make registration, although it will not be specifically covered by the provisions contained in the part on Fundamental Rights."

* W. & S.-Vol.15. P.341

".....in enacting this part of the Constitution the Constituent Assembly, as I said, is giving certain directions to the future legislature and the future executive to show in what manner they are to exercise the

legislative and the executive power which they will have. If the world ' directive' is omitted. I am afraid the intention of the Constituent Assembly in enacting this part will fail in its purpose. Surely, as some have said, it is not the intention to introduce in this part these principles as mere pious declarations. It is the intention of the Assembly that in future both the legislature and the executive should not merely pay lip service to these principles enacted in this part, but that they should be made the basis of all executive and legislative action that may be taken hereafter in the matter of the governance of the country."

W. & S.-Vol.13, p.348

5. THE PRESIDENT

".....Under the Draft Constitution the President occupies the same position as the king under the English Constitution. He is the head of the State but not of the Executive. He represents the Nation but does not rule the Nation. He is the symbol of the nation. This place in the administration is that of a ceremonial device on a seal by which the nation's decisions are made known.....

.....The President of the Indian Union will be generally bound by the advice of his Ministers. He can do nothing contrary to their advice nor can he do anything without their advice. The President of the United States can dismiss any secretary at any time. The President of the Indian Union has no power to do so, so long as his Ministers command a majority in Parliament."

*W. & S.-Vol.13. P.50-51

".....one important consideration which weighed with the Drafting Committee, and also with the Union Committee in deciding to rule out adult suffrage, was the position of the President in the Constitution . If the President was in the same position as the President of the United States, who is vested with all the executive authority of the United States, I could have understood the argument in favour of direct election, because of the Principles that wherever a person is endowed with the same enormousness of powers as the President of the United States, it is only natural that the choice of such a person should be made directly by the people. But what is the position of the President of the Indian Union?.....

.....He is not in the same position as the President of the United States. If any functionary under our Indian Constitution is to be compared with the United States President, he is the Prime Minister, and not the President of the Union. So far as the Prime Minister is concerned, it is undoubtedly provided in the Constitution that he shall be elected on adult suffrage by the people. Now, having regard to the fact, to which I have referred, that the President had really no powers to execute, the last argument which one could advance in favour of the proposition that the President should be elected by adult suffrage seems to me to fall to the ground. I, therefore, submit that, having regard to the size of the electorate,

the paucity of administrative machinery necessary to manage elections on such a vast scale and that the President does not possess any of the executive or administrative powers, which the President of the United States possesses, I submit that it is unnecessary to go into the question of adult suffrage and to provide for the election of the President on that basis."

* W. & S.- Vol-13. P.454

"As I have stated over and over again, our President is merely a nominal figurehead. He has no discretion, he has no powers of administration at all. Therefore, so far as our President is concerned, this provision is absolutely unnecessary. If at all it is necessary it should be with regard to the Prime Ministers and the other Ministers of State, because it is they who are in complete control of the administration of the state. If any person under the Government of India has any opportunity of aggrandizing himself, it is either the Prime Minister or the Ministers of State and such a provision ought to have been imposed upon them during their tenure and not on the President."

* W. & S.-Vol.13. P.470

6. THE GOVERNOR

"The first thing I would like the House to bear in mind is this. The governor under the Constitution has no functions, which he can discharge by himself, no functions at all. While he has certain duties to perform and I think the House will do well to bear in mind this distinction. This article certainly, it should be borne in mind, does not confer upon the Governor the power to over rule the Ministry on any particular matter. Even under this article, the Governor is bound to accept the advice of the Ministry."

*W. & S.- Vol.13. P.623

".....although the Governor has no functions still, even the Constitutional Governor, that he is, has certain duties to perform. His duties, according to me may be classified in two parts. One is that he has to retain the Ministry in office. Because, the ministry is to hold office during his pleasure, he has to see whether and when he should exercise his pleasure against the Ministry. The second duty, which the Governor has and must have, is to advise the Ministry, to warn the Ministry, to suggest to the Ministry an alternative and to ask for reconsideration. I do not think that any body in this House will question the fact that the Governor should have this duty cast upon him otherwise, he would be an absolutely unnecessary functionary, no good at all. He is the representative not of a party, he is the representative of the people as a whole of the State. It is in the name of the people that he carries on the administration. He must see that the administration is carried on a level, which may be regarded as good, efficient, honest administration. Therefore, having regard to these two duties which the Governor has, namely to see that the administration is kept pure, without corruption, impartial and that the proposals enunciated by the Ministry are not contrary to the wishes of the people and therefore, to advise them, warn them and ask them to reconsider."

* W. & S.- Vol.13. P.624

".....should the Governor have discretionary powers? It is that question which is the main and the principal question. After we come to some decision on this question, the other question whether the words used in the last part of clause (1) of article 143 should be retained in that article or should be transferred somewhere else could be usefully considered. The first thing, therefore, that I propose to do is to devote myself to this question which, as I said, is the crucial question. It has been said in the course of the debate that the retention of discretionary power in the Governor is contrary to responsible government in the provinces. It has also been said that the retention of discretionary power in the governor smells of the government of India act 1935, which in the main was undemocratic. Now, speaking for myself, I have no doubt in my mind that the retention in on the vesting the Governor with certain discretionary powers is in no sense contrary to or in no sense a negation of responsible government. I do not wish to take up the point because on this point I can very well satisfy the House by reference to the provisions in the Constitution of Canada and the Constitution of Australia, I do not think any body in this house would dispute that the Canadian system of government is not a fully responsible system of government, nor will anybody in this House challenge that the Australian Government is not a responsible form of government."

* W. & S.-Vol-13-615

7. CENTRE-STATE -RELATIONS

"Some critics have said that the Centre is too strong. Others have said that it must be made stronger. The Draft Constitution has struck a balance. However, much you may deny powers to the Centre. It is difficult to prevent the Centre from becoming strong. Conditions in modern world are such that centralization of powers is inevitable. One has only to consider the growth of the Federal Government in the USA which notwithstanding the very limited powers given to it by the Constitution has outgrown it's former self and has over shadowed and eclipsed the State Governments. This is due to modern conditions. The same conditions are sure to operate on the Government of India and nothing that one can do will help to prevent it from being strong. On the other hand, we must resist the tendency to make it stronger, it can not chew more than it can digest. Its strength must be commensurate with its weight. It would be a folly to make it so strong that it may fall by its own weight."

*W. & S. Vol.13. P.66

" The basic principle of Federalism is that the Legislative and Executive authority is partitioned between the Centre and the States not by any law to be made by the Centre, but by the Constitution itself. This is what Constitution does. The States under our Constitution are in no way dependent upon the Centre for their legislative of executive authority. The Centre and States are co-equal in this matter. It is difficult to see how

such a Constitution can be called centralism. It may be that the Constitution assigns to the centre too large a field for the operation of its legislative and executive authority than is to be found in any other federal Constitution. It may be that the residuary powers are given to the Centre and not to the States. But these features do not form the essence of federalism. The chief mark of federalism as I said lies in the partition of the legislative and executive authority between the Centre and the Units by Constitution. This is the principle embodied in our Constitution. There can be no mistake about it. It is therefore, wrong to say that States have been placed under the Centre. Centre can not by its own will alter the boundary of that partition nor can the Judiciary.....

.....The second charge is that the Centre has been given the power to override the States. This charge must be admitted. But before condemning the Constitution for containing such overriding powers, certain considerations must be borne in mind. The first is that these overriding powers do not form the normal feature of the Constitution. Their use and operation are expressly confined to emergencies only. The second consideration is, could we avoid giving overriding powers to the Centre when an emergency has arisen? Those who do not admit the justification for such overriding powers to the Centre even in an emergency, do not seem to have a clear idea of the problem which lies at the root of the matter."

* W. & S. Vol.13. P.1212-1213

8. SECULAR STATE

" It is all very good to say that we have proposed in our Constitution a Secular State. I have no idea whether any member, when they use these words " Secular State " really mean what the Constitution is intended to mean. It does not mean that we can abolished religion; it doesn't mean that we shall not take into consideration the religious sentiments of the people. All that a secular state means is that this Parliament shall not be competent to impose any particular religion upon the rest of the people. That is the only limitation that the Constitution recognizes."

* W. & S. Vol.14. P.883

".....unfortunately the religions which prevail in this country are not merely non-social: so far as their mutual relations are concerned they are anti-social, one religion claiming that its teachings constitute the only right path for salvation, that all other religions are wrong. The Muslims believe that anyone who does not believe in the dogma of Islam is a Kafir not entitled to brotherly treatment with the Muslims. The Christian's have a similar belief .In view of this, it seems to me that we should be considerably disturbing the peaceful atmosphere of an institution if these controversies with regard to the truthful character of any particular religion and the erroneous character of the other were brought into juxtaposition in the school it self. I therefore say that in laying down in article 22 (1) that in State institution there shall be no religious instructions, we have in my judgement traveled the path of complete safety."

* W. & S.Vol .13-p.423

9. ORGANS OF THE STATE

"Every Constitution, so far as it relates to what we call parliamentary democracy, requires their different organs of the State the executive, the Judiciary and the legislature. I have not anywhere, found in any Constitution a provision saying that the executive shall obey the legislature, nor have I found anywhere in any Constitution a provision that the executive shall obey the Judiciary. No where is such a provision to be found? That is because it is generally understood that the provisions of the Constitution are binding upon the different organs of the States. Consequently, it is to be presumed that those who work the Constitution, those who compose the legislature and those who compose the executive and the Judiciary know their functions, their limitations and their duties. It is therefore, to be expected that if the executive is honest in working the Constitution, then the executive is bound to obey the legislature without any kind of compulsory obligation laid down in the Constitution.

Similarly, if the executive is honest in working the Constitution, it must act in accordance with the judicial decisions given by the Supreme Court. Therefore, my submission is that this is a matter of one organ of the State acting within its own limitations and obeying the supremacy of the other organs of the State .In so far as the Constitution gives a supremacy to that is a matter of Constitutional obligation which is implicit in the Constitution itself .....

..... No Constitutional Government can function in any country unless any particular Constitutional authority remembers the fact that its authority is limited by the Constitution and that if there is any authority created by the Constitution which has to decide between that particular authority and any other authority, then the decision of that authority shall be binding upon any other organ. That is the sanction which this Constitution gives in order to see that the President shall follow the advice of his Minister, that the executive shall not exceed in its executive authority the law made by Parliament and that the executive shall not gives its own interpretation of the law which is in conflict with the interpretation of the judicial organ created by the Constitution."

* W.&.S-Vol-13-P-1106-1107

10. INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY

" Sir, there is no doubt that the House in general, has agreed that the independence of the Judiciary from the Executive should be made as clear and definite as we could make it by law. At the same time, there is the fear that in the name of the independence of the Judiciary, we might be creating, what my friend Mr. T.T. Krishnamachari very aptly called an " Imperium in Imperio". We do not want to create an Imperium in Imperio, and at the same time we want to give the Judiciary ample independence so that it can act without fear or favour of the Executive. My friends, if they will carefully examine the provisions of the new amendment, which I have

proposed in place of the original article 122, will find that the new article proposes to steer a middle course. It refuses to create an Imperium in Imperio, and I think it gives the Judiciary as much independence as is necessary for the purpose of administering justice without fear or favour."

* W. & S. Vol. 13.p.598

" The Drafting Committee felt that since all the High Courts so far as the appointment of Judges is concerned from now a Central subject, it was desirable to treat all the judges of the High Courts throughout India as forming one single cadre like the I.C.S and that they should be liable to be transferred from one High Court to another. If such power was not reserved to the Centre, the administration of justice might become a very difficult matter. It might be necessary that one judge may be transferred from one High Court to another in order to strengthen the High Court elsewhere by importing better talent which may not be locally available. Secondly, it might be desirable to import a new chief Justice to a High Court because it might be desirable to have a man who is unaffected by local politics and local jealousies. We thought therefore that the power to transfer should be placed in the hands of the Central Government."

* W. & S.-Vol-13-P-1150

11. INDEPENDENT ELECTION COMMISSION

" So far as this committee is concerned, my point is that we should support the proposition that the committee is in favour of adult suffrage. The second thing that we have guaranteed in this Fundamental right is that the elections shall be free and the elections shall be by secret voting.....The third proposition which this Fundamental clause enunciates is that in order that the elections may be free in the real sense of the word, they shall be taken out of the hands of the Government of the day, and that they should be conducted by an independent body which may here call an Election Commission".

A &. C - P. 132

" Many people felt that if the elections were conducted under the auspices of the executive authority and if the executive authority did have power, as it must have, of transferring officers from one area to another with the objects of gaining support for a particular candidate who was a favorites with the party in office or with the Government of the day that will certainly vitiate the free election which we all wanted. It was therefore unanimously resolved by the members of the Fundamental Rights Committee that the greatest safeguard for the purity of elections, for fairness in elections, was to take away the matter from the hands of the executive authority and to hand it over to some independent authority"

A.&. C - P -133

' It has been brought to the notice both of the Drafting Committee as well as the central Government that in these provinces the executive

Government is instructing or managing things in such a manner that those people who do not belong to them either racially , culturally or linguistically, are being excluded from being brought on the electoral rolls. The House will realise that franchise is a most fundamental thing in a democracy. No person who is entilied to be brought in to the electoral rolls on the grounds which we have already mentioned in our Counstitution, namely, an adult of 21 years of age, should be excluded merely as a result of the prejudice of a local Government , or the whim of an officer. That would cut at the very roof of democratic Government. In order, therefore, to prevent injustice being done by provincial Governments to people other than those who belong to the province racially, linguistically and culturally, it is felt desirable to depart from the original proposal of having a separate Election Commission for each province under the guidance of the Governor and the local Government . Therefore , this new change has been brought about, namely, that the whole of the elecction machinary should be in the hands of a central Election Commission which alone would be entitled to issue directions to returning officers, polling officers and others engaged in the preparation and revision of electoral rolls so that no injustice may be done to any citzen in India, who under this Constitution is entitled to be brought on the electoral rolls."

* W &.S- Vol. -13-P- 721-722

12. SAFEGUARD FOR MINORTIES

"In this country, both the minorities and the majorities have followed a wrong path. It is wrong for the majority to deny the existence of minorities. It is equally wrong for the minorities to perpetuate themselves. A solution must be found which will serve a double purpose. It must recognise the existence of the minorities to start with. It must also be such that it will enable majorities and minorities to merge some day into one, the solution proposed by the Constituent Assembly is to be welcomed because it is a solution, which serves this two-fold purpose. To diehards who have developed a kind of fanaticism against minority protection I would like to say two things. One is that minorities are an explosive force which, if it erupts, can blow up the whole fabric of the State. The history of Europe bears ample and appalling testimony to this fact. The other is that the minorities in India have agreed to place their existence in the hands of the majority. In the history of negotiations for preventing the partition of Ireland Redmond said to Carson "ask for any safeguard you like for the Protestant minority but let us have a United Ireland." Carson's reply was " Damn your safeguard, we don't want to be ruled by you." No minority in India has taken this stand. They have loyally accepted the rule of the majority, which are basically a communal majority and not a political majority. It is for the majority to realise its duty not to discriminate against minorities. Whether the minorities will continue or will vanish must depend upon this habit of the majority. The moment the majority loses the habit of discriminating against the minority, the minorities can have no ground to exist. They will vanish."

* W. & S.-Vol-13-P-62-63

13. ARTICLE-32-SOUL OF THE CONSTITUTION

".....I am very glad that the majority of those who spoke on this article have realized the importance and the significance of this article. If I was asked to name any particular article in this Constitution as the most important an article without which this Constitution would be a nullity, I could not refer to any other article except this one. It is the very soul of the Constitution and the very heart of it and I am glad that the House has realized its importance."

* W. & S.-Vol-13-P-440

14. AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION

"The provision relating to amendments of the Constitution have come in for a virulent attack at the hands of the critics of the Draft Constitution. It is said that the provisions contained in the Draft make amendment difficult. It is proposed that the Constitution should be amendable by a simple majority at least for some years. The argument is subtle and ingenious. It is said that this Constituent Assembly is not elected on adult suffrage while the future Parliament will be elected on adult suffrage and yet the former has been given the right to pass the Constitution by a simple majority while the latter has been denied the same right. It is prepared as one of the absurdities of the Draft Constitution. I must repudiate the charge because it is without foundation. To know how simple are the provisions of the Draft Constitution in respect of amending the Constitution one has only to study the provisions for amendment contained in the American and Australian Constitutions compared to them, those contained in the Draft Constitution will be found to be the simplest. The Draft Constitution has eliminated the elaborate and difficult procedures such as a decision by a convention or a referendum. The powers of amendment are left with the legislatures, Central and Provincial. It is only for amendments of specific matters and they are only few that the ratification of the State legislatures is required. All other articles of the Constitution are left to be amended by Parliament. The only limitation is that it shall be done by a majority of not less than two- thirds of the members of each House present and voting and a majority of the total membership of each house. It is difficult to conceive a simple method of amending the Constitution."

* W. & S.-Vol-13-P- 68-69

" This tampering with the constitution from time to time is a bad thing. I said so last time but I don't suppose the Government has cared to pay any heed. I would like to repeat the same caution again and I should like to give some reasons why the Constitution should not be amended and tampered so easily. Anyone who is familiar with what is called the interpretation of law by Courts and there are well set rules as to how Statues are to be interpreted will recall that there is a famous rule of interpretation which is called stare decisis which means this, that when the Courts have given an interpretation for a long number of years in a

very uniform sense, and it after a long numbers of years some lawyers gets up and convinces the Court that the existing interpretation is wrong and ought to be changed. The Courts say that they shall not do it, although they are convinced that the interpretation is wrong. The reason why the Courts adopt this rule stare decisis is very important. The Court says:

Whether the interpretation we have given is right or is wrong is now not a matter of moment, for the simple reason that a large number of people have acted upon our interpretation as being the correct law, have incurred obligations, have secured rights. Now, to say that all these obligations and rights are founded upon a mistaken view of the law would be to unsettle the society altogether. Let, therefore the wrong continue.

That is the attitude that the Courts have taken. The same reason prevails, in my judgement, why the Constitution should not be constantly amended. People know that the Constitution contains rules, certain obligations, and in accordance with them, they make their contracts, they make their plans for the future. It is not right, therefore, to come in every year and to disturb these values. That is the reason why I say the Constitution should not be so lightly and so frequently amended. I do not know whether the Government would listen to it, perhaps not."

* W. & S. Vol. 15. P. 953 - 954

".....what is the basic principle underlying this provision relating to the amendment of the Constitution? It seems to me that a student who scrutinize these two articles relating to the amendment of the Constitution in Australia and America will find that there are two principles which underline any action relating to the amendments of the Constitution. The first is this that there must be notice to the people. The people must know that the Government is going to undertake the amendment of the Constitution. The second principle is that there must be consent of the voters either directly as in America or indirectly by these states by ratifying resolution.

Now, Sir is our Government observing these Fundamental rules? It is quite true that our Constitution is a very fluid one. It is not as rigid, not half as rigid as the American Constitution or the Australian Constitution, and those who were in charge of framing the Constitution were fully conscious of the fact that the situation must be left fluid because it may be that circumstances would arise which would require amendment of the Constitution and you cannot allow the Constitution to hold up the solution of social problems which are emergent. It was because of that it was proposed that the provisions contained in Article 368 should suffice. We don't require except in certain cases reference back to the states or reference back to the voters, but I have not the least doubt in my mind that no one who had anything to do with the Drafting of the Constitution ever thought that the Government would rush in on the spur of the moment to amend the Constitution without giving notice to the voter. Notice to the voters, if I may submit, is a general principle of political life and party life. Even in England no party would undertake any piece of legislation which

did not form part of its political programme for the election. Every party must have a mandate to do a certain thing. Without a mandate a party cannot do anything. You cannot take the voters by surprise and you cannot assume absolute authority to amend even the Constitution simply because you are elected. This is exactly what our Government has been doing. Simply because they have obtained a majority they assume that they have not only the power to make any law whatsoever relating to any of the entries which give them the power to make laws but they have also got the power, merely by being elected, even without notifying their intention to the people as such, to even amend the Constitution. Is the Constitution not different in any sense from an ordinary law? Is it merely a scrap of paper to be amended at the whim of anybody? There is a saying in Marathi- "I do not know whether I can translate it into English properly and that saying is a very good one and very appropriate. We say, if the old women dies it really doesn't matter very much, but what we are afraid of is that Yama gets habituated to coming often and often and what we want to prevent is the Yama's invasion. It does not matter if the old woman is dead or snatched away. This is exactly what has been happening and I have been noticing the great contempt or the low regard or respect which the Government has for the Constitution .You may amend the Constitution; nobody has any objection to amending it but certainly you ought to treat the Constitution on a somewhat different footing, a better footing, a special footing. Tell the people what you are intending to do and then you may do it. Otherwise it might become necessary even to amend Article 368 in a manner so as to prevent this facile invasion of the Constitutional provisions. This is all that I wanted to say."

* W. & S.-Vol-15-P-922-924

15. VILLAGE REPUBLIC DISCARDED

" But those who take pride in the village communities do not care to consider what little part they have played in the affairs and the destiny of the country; and why? Their part in the destiny of the country has been well described by Metcalfe himself who says:

" Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down, revolution succeeds to revolution . Hindoo, Pathan, Mogal, Maratha, Sikhs, English are all master in turn but the village communities remain the same. In times of trouble they arm and fortify themselves. A hostile army passes through the country. The village communities collect their little cattle within their walls and let the enemy pass unprovoked".

Such is the part of the village communities have played in the history of their country. Knowing this, what pride can one feel in them? That they have survived through all vicissitudes may be a fact. But mere survival has no value. The question is on what plane they have survived surely on a low, on selfish level. I hold that these village republics have been the ruination of India. I am therefore surprised that those who condemn provincialism and communalism should come forward as champion of the

village. What is the village but a sink of localism, a den of ignorance, narrow mindness and communalism? I am glad that the Draft Constitution has discarded the village and adopted the individual as its unit."

* W. & S. Vol. 13.p.61,62

16. PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION NOT SUITED

".....in my judgement, proportional representation is not suited to the form of Government, which this constituion lays down. The form of Government which this constitution lays down is what is known as the Parliamentary system of Government by which we understand that a Government shall continue to be in office not necessrily for the full term prescribed by law, namely, five years, but so long as the Goverment continues to have the confidence of the majority of the House. Obviously it means that in the House, where there is the Parliamentary system of Government, you must necessarily have a party which is in majority and which is prepared to support the Government .Now so far as I have been able to study the results of the sytems of Parliamentary or proportional representation. I think, it might be said that one of the disadvantages of proportional representation is the fragmentation of the legislature into a number of small groups. I think the House will know that althogh the British parliment appointed a Royal Commission in the year, 1910, for the purpose of considering whether their system of single member constituency, with one man one vote, was better or whether the proportional representation system was better, it is, I think, matter to be particularly noted that Parliament was not prepared to accept the recommendations of that Royal Commission. The reason, which was given for not accepting it was in my judgement, a very sound reason, that proportional representation would not permit a stable Government to ramain in office -because parliment would be so divided into so many small groups that every time anything happened which displeased certain groups in Parliament, they would on that occasion, withdraw their support from the Government with the result that the Government losing the support of certain groups and units, would fall to pieces. Now, I have not the least doubt in my mind that whatever else the future government provides for, whether it relieves the people from the wants from which they are suffering now or not, our future Government must do one thing, namely, it must maintain a stable Government and maintain law and order (Hear,hear) I am therefore, very hesitant in accepting any system of election which would damage the stability of Government. I am therefore, on that account, not prepared to accept this arrangement.

There is a third consideration, which I think it is necessary to bear in mind in this country, for a long number of years, the people have been divided into majorities and minorities. I am not going into the question whether this division of the people into majorities and minorities was natural, or whether it was an artificial thing, or something, which was deliberately calculated and brought about by somebody who was not friendly to the progress of this country, whatever that may be the fact

remains that there have been these majorities and minorities in our country and also that at the initial stage when this Constituent Assembly met for the discussion of the principles on which the future Constitution of the country should be based, there was an agreement arrived at between the various minority communities and the majority community with regard to the system of representation. That agreement has been a matter of give and take. The minorities who, prior to that meeting of the Constituent Assembly, had been entrenched behind a system of separate electorates, were prepared, or became prepared to give up that system and the majority which believed that there ought to be no kind of special reservation to any particular community permitted, or rather agreed that while they could not agree to separate electorates, they would agree to a system of joint electorates with reservation of seats. This agreement provides for two things. It provides for a definite quota of representation to the various minorities, and it also provides that such a quota shall be returned through joint electorates. Now, my submission is this, that while it is still open to this House to revise any part of the clause contained in this Draft Constitution and while it is open to this House to revise any agreement that has been arrived at between the majority and the minority, this result ought not to be brought about either by surprise or by what I may call, a side wind. It had better be done directly and it seems to me that the proper procedure for effecting a change in articles 292 and 293 would be to leave the matter to the wishes of the different minorities themselves. If any particular minority represented in this House said that it did not want any reservation, then it would be open to the House to remove the name of that particular minority from the provisions of article 292. If any particular minority preferred that although it did not get a cent percent, deal namely, did not get a separate electorate, but that what it has got in the form of reservation of seats is better than having nothing, then I think it would be just and proper that the minority should be permitted to retain what the Constituent Assembly has already given to it.

I submit that this proportional representation is really taking away by the back- door what has already been granted to the minorities by this agreement, because proportional representation will not give to the minorities what they wanted, namely a definite quota. It might give them a voice in the election of their representatives."

* W. & S. Vol. 13 .p.531,532 & 533

8. POLITICS, POLITICAL PARTY AND POLITICAL POWER

POLITICS

Ground plan

"Politics is nothing if not realistic. There is very little in it that is academic. It is therefore follows that before passing any Judgement

on any scheme of politics it is essential that one must consider the ground plan.

Some one may ask what do I mean by "Ground Plan". To me the ground plan means the social structure of a community to which the political plan is sought to be applied.

It needs no argument to show that the political structure rests on the social structure. Indeed the social structure has a profound effect on the political structure. It may modify it in its working. It may nullify it or it may even make a mockery of it."

* W. & S.-Vol-1-P-167

"Politics must be based upon class-consciousness. Politics, which is not class conscious, is hypocracy."

* W. & S.-Vol-17(III)-P-189

"It is not enough to have political ideals. What is necessary is the victory of ideals. But the victory of ideals can be ensured only by organized parties and not by individuals."

* W. & S.-Vol-17(I)-P-401

POLITICAL PARTY

What is a party?

Party is like an army. It must have:-

(1) A Leader who is like a Commander-in-chief.
(2) An organization which includes-
(i) Membership (ii) A ground plan (iii) Discipline
(3) It must have principles and policy.
(4) It must have programmes or plan of work.
(5) It must have tactics and strategy i.e. it must plan when to do what and how to reach its goal.

To put in simple terms it is an association of voters with certain objects

(1) To promote the formation and development of a party organization and foster party through it.
(2) To disseminate party principles through the press and by means of lectures, speeches, literature etc.
(3) To serve as a basis of united political action by the formation of a political party to represent the members of the association in the Legislature to be called the Republican Party.

* W. & S.-Vol-17(II)-P-155

Methodical organization of party

"The party stands for the interests and aspirations of the masses. Its leaders come from the masses. The interests of the masses demand

that the party should be properly organized on a level with other organized parties which make a vain boast of representing the masses but which represent none but the higher caste Hindus and other capitalistic exploiting forward classes. A disciplined organization under a forceful leadership and tried and trusted band of selfless and self-sacrificing colleagues will alone make the party a proper spokesman of the masses ..... The need of such methodical organization is more urgently necessary in these troublous days of the campaigns of law breaking when the masses must be put in possession of correct facts and a correct appreciation of the existing political situation."

* S.M.-Vol-1-P-43

".....the organization of a party is spread over three concentric rings. The center ring represents the oligarchy in control of the party organization ..... what is called the High Command. There are associated with it .....its workers who are primarily concerned with securing their livelihood through the party organization whether as party officials or through public office. They are called professional politicians and constitute the party machine. Surrounding this inner group—the High Command and the machine-there is large circle of persons bound to the party by ties of tradition and emotional loyalty. They think of the principles professed by the party. There are more concerned with its ideals and symbols than with the acts of the professional party workers and leaders. They vote for the party ideal rather than for the party record. Outside this second ring lies that vast body of people who are not attached to any party. It is a floating population. The reason for their being unattached is either because they are aimless, thoughtless or because they have particular interests, which are not included in the platform of any party. Those outside the second ring constitute the most vital field of action for a political party. They are the prizes, which a party must capture. To capture this prize it is not enough to enunciate principles and formulate policies. Men are not interested in principles and policies. But they are interested in accomplishing things. What is necessary for a party is to bring about concerted action. For in the words of President Woodrow Wilson, given self-government with a majority rule, things can be accomplished not by individual voice but by concerted action. Now for concerted action what is necessary is the crystallization of individual opinions into public opinion. This crystallization or building up of public opinion as a sanction behind a particular principle becomes the main functions of a party "

* W. & S.-Vol-1-P-238

Things essential for the growth of the party

"You should have very able leaders. Yours leaders must have the courage and caliber to match the topmost leaders in any political party. The party without efficient leaders comes to nil.....

.....In any Party, just as the honest leadership which can never be

sold is of vital importance, in the same way, devoted workers in the party is the second important thing essential for the growth of the party."

* W. & S.-Vol-17(III)-P-376

Purpose of party

"A political party does not exit merely for the sake of winning election. A political party exists for the sake of educating, agitating and organising the people."

* W. & S.-Vol-17(I)-P-437

What party must do?

".....a party must do two things. In the first place it must establish contact with the masses. It must go out among the masses with its wares..... its principles, policies, ideas and candidates. In the second place it must carry on propaganda among the masses in favour of its wares. It must animate them and enlighten them, to quote Bryce again "Give the voters some knowledge of the political issues they have to decide, to inform them of their leaders, and the crimes of their opponents."

* W. & S.-Vol-1-P-239

Administration should not be permitted to take part in politics

"We must make a distinction between the right to vote and the right to take active part either in forming a political party or in helping an existing political party. So far as the right to vote is concerned, nobody in this country is denied that right; neither the government officers employed in the civil services nor the military personnel have any impediment placed in their way in the matter of exercising their right to vote. The only question that arises for consideration is this, whether they should be permitted to form an association of themselves for the purpose of starting a political party or helping any particular political party. It seems to me that to allow the civil or military servants of the government to take party politics is nothing short of sowing the seeds of subverting the Government.....What is of importance is the impartiality of the administration. The administration, in my judgement, is far more important than government as such. And supposing the administration was permitted to associate itself..... I am very strongly opposed to the suggestion made by my friend Mr.Khandubhai Desai or by Mr. Gokilbhai Bhatt that the administration should be permitted to take part in politics or to help any particular candidate by holding meetings for him, for canvassing, for collecting funds, and this, that or the other. I think it is absolutely subversive of civil and military government."

* W. & S.-Vol-15-P-526-527

Indian politics became commercialized

" Indian politics at any rate the Hindu part of it, instead of being spiritualized has become grossly commercialized so much so that it has

became a byword for corruption. Many men of culture are refusing to concern themselves in this cesspool. Politics has become a kind of sewage system intolerably unsavory and insanitary. To become a politician is like going to work in the drain."

* W. & S.-Vol-1-P-227

Middle class need political consciousness

".....the lowest class of people in this country and the highest are politically most conscious. In my experience in my Province, the Scheduled Castes, who stand last in the scale of social order, vote to the extent of 80 percent. I have never found any election in which they have voted less than that. I also feel and I think I am sure in my statement that the Brahmins in my Province vote about 80 percent. The reason is obvious

One community is a depressed community. It is conscious of the fact that its moral and material elevation depends upon the place it occupies in the legislatures of this country. Consequently they never waste their time, their energy in any thing else, however profitable they may be except to go to the poll and vote on the day when the poll is called. My experience with regard to the Brahmins is also the same and my analysis is also the same. They today stand almost on the precipice. Everybody wants to push them out from all the places that they have occupied. Consequently they also know that unless they have a certain amount of solidarity among themselves that unless each one of them goes to the poll they shall not be able to exercise the influence which they must exercise in order to secure themselves from a harsh pushing out immediately and to secure at least a transition from one stage to another .

..... The classes which is apathetic and which does not care to vote is the middle class. Their existence does not seem to depend so much upon the Governmental activity. They have ..... Therefore what we need to do at the present moment is to tell those members who represent the middle class that there is a duty cast upon them to see that this class becomes politically conscious and to call them to the election so that they may participate in the same way as those at the top and those at the bottom do."

* W. & S.-Vol-15-P-554

Need of political party based upon class-consciousness.

"..... the policy could be changed by overthrowing the present leadership and by installing the leadership of the masses, and that it had not been overthrown so far because the masses were not class conscious.

Our main task today is to create class-consciousness among masses and then the present leadership would collapse automatically."

* S. M. vol.1-P-182

".... the existence of great social wrongs which principally teaches

the masses the value of political rights." Your wrongs are great, your wrongs are real therefore your politics can be genuine and real. If you realize this you can be the beacon light to all Labour in India in the matter of genuine political organization."

* W. & S.-Vol-17(III)-P-191

"One of the difficulties in the way of the growth of the Independent Labour Party is social and not political. The fact that its substratum or nucleus consists of the Depressed Classes is the only thing that stands in the way of the growth and expansion of the Party. It is the general feeling of not associating with low class people such as the Depressed Classes, which has prevented caste Hindu workers from joining the fold of the I. L. P. and I am sorry to say that many people who are opposed to the growth of the Independent Labour Party are exploiting this feeling and dissuading the ignorant and the superstitious from joining the Party. But I am sure that the straight and honest politics of the Independent Labour Party will work as a powerful magnet to draw all labouring classes within its fold and will counter balance any disruptive force originating from the Hindu social system."

* W. & S.-Vol-17(III)-P-190

"..... the Scheduled Caste Federation would like to work in co-operation with the Backward Classes and the Scheduled Tribes. For they are more or less in the same position as the Scheduled Castes. These classes unfortunately have not developed that degree of political consciousness, which the Scheduled Castes have by reason of political, and social activity of the Scheduled Castes Federation during the last twenty years. The Constitution of free India has made the Backward Classes, the Scheduled Tribes and the Scheduled Castes virtually the masters of the country. Hitherto the minority of Caste Hindus have made themselves the rulers of the country. The fear of the Scheduled Caste Federation is that the Backward Classes and the Scheduled Tribes by reason of their want of consciousness may fall a prey to the minority of Caste Hindus and continue to be their slaves instead of becoming masters of their own. The Scheduled Castes federation's first concern is to help these Classes to get on their feet. If they so wish, the Scheduled Castes Federation would be prepared to change the name and call itself the Backward Classes Federation so as to include both sections in a common organization. If this is not possible the Scheduled Castes Federation would be ready and willing to forge a working alliance with such organization."

(Election manifesto of SCF, 3-10-1951)

* W. & S.-Vol-17 (I)-P-401-402

".....the Depressed Class by themselves can play a great part in the politics of this country and a part which can be very helpful to themselves and to labour in general.

All this however depends upon how well and how quickly you organize yourselves."

* W. & S.-Vol-17 (III)-P-191-192

" The Congress is a heterogeneous body composed of the exploiters as well as exploited, and it is quite certain that the exploiters in the Congress will not allow the organisation to work for the masses.

A combination of the exploiters and exploited might be necessary for the purposes of achieving political freedom, but to seek to form a common party consisting of exploited and exploiters for purposes of social reconstruction was to deceive the masses....."

* W. & S.-Vol-17 (II)-P-421

Two party system

"The Scheduled Caste Federation is equally opposed to the growth of multiplicity of political parties. The ideal of the Scheduled Castes Federation is to have two parties. That alone can give stability to the State and freedom to the individual. The Federation will strive to bring about a two party system in this country."

* W. & S.-Vol-17(I)- P-402

POLITICAL POWER

Object of political power

"Wherever there are social evils, the health of the body politic requires that they shall be removed before they become the symbols of suffering and injustice. For it is the social and economic evils which everywhere are the parent of revolution or decay. Whether social reform should precede political reform or political reform should precede social reform may be a matter of controversy. But there can be no two opinions on the question that the sole object of political power is the use to which it can be put in the cause of social and economic reform."

* W. & S.-Vol-8- P-247

The most precious thing

" Political power is the most precious thing in the life of a community especially if its position is constantly being challenged and the community is required to maintain it by meeting the challenge. **Political power** is the only means by which it can sustain its position. To attempt to make it part with it by false propaganda, by misrepresentation or by the lure of office or of gold is equivalent to disarming the community, to silencing its guns and to making it ineffective and servile. It may be a way of producing unity. But the way is despicable for it means suppressing the opposition by a false and unfair method. It cannot produce any unity. It can only create exasperation bitterness and hostility."

* W. & S.-Vol-8-P-342

" These are my reflections about the tasks that lie ahead of us. They may not be very pleasant to some, but there can be no gain saying that political power in this country has too long been the monopoly of a few and the many are not only beasts of burden, but also beasts of prey. This monopoly has not merely deprived them of their chance of betterment, it has sapped them of what may be called the significance of life. These downtrodden classes are tired of being governed. They are impatient to govern themselves. This urge for self-realization in the downtrodden classes must not be allowed to develop into a class struggle or class war. It would lead to a division of the House. That would indeed be a day of disaster. For, as has been well said by Abraham Lincoln, a house divided against itself can not stand very long. Therefore the sooner room is made for the realization of their aspiration, the better for the few, the better for the country."

* W. & S.-Vol-13-P-1217

"..... by giving political power in the hands of capitalists and Brahmins the prestige of those classes would be enhanced; on the contrary political power in the hands of the Untouchables and the Backward peoples would bring glory to the nation and help its material advancement."

* C. S. Page 251

" The Untouchables have obtained a share of political power. But power which is not conscious of itself is no power. Again power which is not organized is no power. The Harijan Sevak Sangh ...would have been of great use if it had helped the Untouchables to organize independent political parties to fight the elections and make their political power effective ."

* W. & S.- Vol-5-P-374

Key to all social progress

" Political power is the key to all social progress, and the Scheduled Castes can achieve their salvation if they captured this power by organizing themselves into a third party and holding the balance of power between the rival political parties, the Congress and the Socialists ."

* W. & S.-Vol-17 (III)-P-388

9. PARLIAMENT

Plenary powers

" The Parliament has plenary powers. It can do anything with the legislative power that it possesses. It can use it itself or ask someone else to use it on its behalf in certain circumstances. There is no prohibition imposed on it."

*W. & S. Vol. 15. P.117

".....in my judgement, lies in this namely, that it is possible and open

to Parliament to make a law not only amending, varying or adding to any law made by the State in the concurrent field, but it has also the power to repeal that law. I think this is quite clear from the proviso. So far as this proviso is concerned, the power is specific that Parliament can repeal a law made by the state in the concurrent field.

*W. & S. Vol. 15 .p.184

Question regarding the educational qualification of member

" If I may use the words of Buddha, he said that man requires two things. One is Gyan and the other is Sheel. Gyan without Sheel is very dangerous it must be accompanied by Sheel. By which we mean character, moral courage, ability to be independent of any kind of temptation, truthful to one's ideals. I did not find any reference to the second qualification in the speeches I have heard from members who have supported Prof. Shah, but even though I myself am very keen to see that no member enters this August Assembly, who does not possess Sheel in adequate degree, I find it extremely difficult to find any means or methods to ensure that valuable qualification.

.....To make speeches and to ventilate grievances is a very easy matter but to formulate remedies is a very difficult matter. It requires education and therefore education even from the standpoint of the backward classes, scheduled classes or tribal areas is a very necessary ingredient. How can we ensure it? When I examined the suggestion that there ought to be some kind of educational qualification, I found that a proposition, which is very good in theory or in its academic aspect, cannot be given effect to without producing other evils. That is my difficulty. Where will you fix the standard? Will you say that only B.As should be qualified to be members of this House? Supposing you do that, what is the result? Members probably might know that there are many people who are educationally and intellectually far more competent than any graduate, although they have never been inside any college or university. There are many numbers of them. Are you going to shut out these people who have privately educated themselves, who are equally competent or better than B.As or M.As, merely because they have not been able to obtain a certificates from a university? I think that would be a very unfortunate result.

Take another consequences. In this country education is in the lowest grade. Not only that is so but for some reason which all of us know, education has not been universally spread among all the communities in this country. There are communities, which are highly educated, and there are communities where education is very, very low. Supposing you make B.A or even matriculation as a standard, are you not making the membership of this House to be a monopoly of the few? I fear that will be the consequences, supposing you lower down your standard, say for instance to the fourth standard to the study of the three Rs. or to literacy in order that no community may be excluded from the opportunity of

sending its members to this house. Is that qualification any good? It is of no value at all.

Therefore, my submission is this, that it is a good thing. I am not going to outcry the feeling that there ought to be some education in members who come to represent their various constituencies in this House. But I just cannot see how you can give legal effect to it. Therefore, my suggestion is that this is a matter, which had better be left to the people themselves, or to the political parties who will run the Government. I have no doubt about it that if the political parties, for their own particular purpose, do not attend to this matter people themselves in course of time will attend to it. People are not going to allow person who cannot discharge their functions properly in this House to be continued and returned forever. They want results, they want their welfare to be attended to, and I am sure about it that they will realise that the only instrumentality through which they can achieve this purpose is to send good men to this House. Therefore, I think the proper course is to leave the matter to the people."

* W. & S.-Vol-15-P-189-191

"..... Professor Decey rightly argue," it has never been a primary object of Constitutional arrangement to get together the best possible Parliament in intellectual capacity, indeed, it would be inconsistent with the idea of representative government to attempt to form a Parliament far superior in intelligence to the mass of the nation."

* W. & S. Vol. 2 - P. 349

Parliament is supreme

" In our Constitution we adopted a middle course; the course that we adopted was this, that while we will permit people to practice and to profess their religion and, incidentally, to have their personal laws because the personal law is so embodied in their religion, yet the State has retained all along in article 25 the right to interfere in the personal law of any community in this country. There can be no argument against that. That is my point. The only question is the time, the occasion and the circumstances.

I want to assert in this House while I am here that I shall hear no argument from any community to say that this Parliament has no right to interfere in their personal law or any other laws. This Parliament is absolutely supreme and we deal with any community so far as their personal law is concerned apart from their religion. Let no community be in a state of mind that they are immune from the sovereign authority of this Parliament."

* W. & S.-Vol-14-P-1168

" I do want to say that this Parliament is a Sovereign Parliament. Beyond seeking the mandate of the people, it has no obligation to the people to obtain their consent. It can decide what it likes. It is supreme. It

has authority to make a law, to unmake a law. If every time this Parliament is to be subjected to the vote of the ignorant people outside who do not know the A.B.C of the technicalities of the law, this Parliament will have to be suspended, it would be much better not to have a Parliament at all.

Secondly, I have not seen any single example in the history of the Legislative Assembly, of this country of such a course being recommended to Parliament. This is not the first time that Parliament is passing a law dealing with Hindu law. I have made a modest computation of the laws passed by the Indian legislature ever since legislative power began to be exercised, practically from 1833. Altogether 29 laws have been passed, some of them of a very drastic character making fundamental changes, but there never was any plea in this House that any of those laws should be left to be passed and sanctioned by public opinion or public referendum. (An hon. Member they were not elected legislatures). It is worse still. Even when the legislatures were not elected legislatures, they exercised the law- making power and imposed it upon the people. Now when the legislature is far more representative than it ever was a plea is made that this Parliament cannot make a law for the people."

* W. & S.-Vol-14-P-884

" The Supreme Court has made a distinction between the security of the State and the maintenance of public order. They say that it may be open for Parliament to make a law for the security of the State but it is not open to Parliament to make a law for the maintenance of public order. There again I wish the House to consider the matter seriously. Is the House prepared to allow the right of freedom of speech and expression to be so untrammeled, to be so unfettered, that any man can say anything and go Scott- free, although such speech creates public disorder? If the judgements of the Supreme Court and the High Courts stand as they are, then the only consequence that follows is that we shall never be able to make a law, which would restrict the freedom of speech in the interests of public order and that we shall never be able to make a law which would put a restraint upon incitement to violence."

* W. & S.-Vol-15-P-337

Every class of people should come into Parliament

" Every section of the community should have an opportunity of taking part in the politics of the country, of coming into Parliament, placing its points of view, modifying legislation in any way it thinks it ought to be. Parliament ought not to be a sectional body, representing any particular class or any particular group or any particular community so that the point of view of all other goes unrepresented. I think that would be very unfair thing; it would be a disservice to Parliament in my judgement if such a thing happens. At the same time, I am quite clear in my mind that while the business community should have a fair opportunity to influence politics and to come into Parliament, we do not want Parliament to be converted into a Stock Exchange.....

....we must bear in mind and which I think goes to the root of the matter is that or Parliament and our electoral law should be so constituted that the independence of the members of Parliament as against the Government must be scrupulously observed. There can be no use in a Parliament if we adopt a system, which permits the Government to corrupt the whole of the Parliament either by offering political offices or by offering some other advantages. If a Parliament cannot act independently without fear or without favour from the Government, in my judgement such a Parliament is of no use at all. Therefore while it is necessary to permit every class of people to come into Parliament and to play their part, you must at the same time place some safeguards whereby Parliament will not be converted into a sort of what I might call chorus girls who would be saying always ditto to what the Government say."

* W. & S.-Vol-15-P-515

Disqualification of member

"...our Constitution had made ample provision that matters of this sort relating to disqualification should not go to a Court. By article 103, we have left the power to decide whether any particular Member of Parliament has incurred a disqualification by reason of accepting an office of profit or not, with the President. The President is the final authority."

* W. & S.-Vol-15-P-83

Dissolution of house

" K.T Shah moved an amendment suggesting that it should be made incumbent upon the Prime Minister to give reasons in writing for dissolution. Opposing the amendment Ambedkar said:

I think the object would be served if the convention regarding dissolution were properly observed. So far as I have understood the King (in England) has a right to dissolve the Parliament. He generally dissolves it on the advice of the Prime Minister. In the same way, the President of the Indian Union will test the feelings of the House whether the House agrees that there should be resolution or whether the House agrees that the affairs should be carried on with some other leader without dissolution. If he finds that the feeling was that there was no other alternative except dissolution, he would as Constitutional President undoubtedly accept the advice of the Prime Minister to dissolve the House. Therefore, it seems to me that insistence upon having a document in writing, stating the reasons why the Prime Minister wanted dissolution of the House seems to be useless and not worth the paper on which it is written."

* A &. C. P.119

10. LAW

Making of a law

" What does making of a law' mean? the making of law, in ordinary terms, means; to enact an enactment where none exists, or , where an

enactment exists, to add to it, to vary it, to amend it, or to repeal it. All that is covered in the broad phrase' making a law."

*W. & S. Vol. 15 .p.185

".....I am firm enough to say civilization cannot exist without advocates. Law is the very foundation of civilization."

* W. & S. Vol. 15 .p.245

".....the law can never be hypothetical and a law can never be passed in anticipation of some jurisdiction being acquired. That is contrary to the principle of legislation. Law must be definite, law must be absolutely clear as to what it applies, to what it cannot apply."

* W. & S. Vol. 15 .p.15

"....I would like to say is that in making a law it is not enough to pursue an ideal; it is very necessary to see that the ideal must be a practical one."

* W. & S. Vol. 15 .p.682

Law and public opinion

" Law and public opinion are two forces, which govern the conduct of man. They act and react upon each other. At times law goes ahead of public opinion and checks it and redirects in channels, which it thinks proper. At times public opinion is ahead of the law. It rectifies the rigour of the law and moderates it. There are also cases where law and public opinion are opposed to each other and public opinion being the stronger of the two forces disregards or sets at naught what the law prescribes."

* W. & S. Vol. 12 .p.753

Periodical revision of law

".....there is no doubt that periodical revisions of law in a modern society is an absolute necessity. When a popular legislature engages itself in the task of legislation, touching every aspect of the society which it governs, there are bound to be created certain problems, which it is necessary for some expert legal body to examine and to rectify."

* W. & S. Vol. 15 .P.7

11. GOVERNMENT

Purpose of government

" Governments are instituted for securing to men certain unalienable rights such as life, liberty and pursuit of happiness. Government must therefore, derive its powers from those whose rights it is charges with the duty to protect."

* W. & S. Vol. 3. P.98

Democratic government presupposes democratic society

" Whether the democratic form of the Government will result in good

will depend upon the disposition of the individuals composing society. If the mental disposition of the individuals is democratic then the democratic form of Government can be expected to result in good Government. If not, democratic form of Government may easily become a dangerous form of Government. If the individuals in a society are separated into classes and the classes are isolated from one another and each individuals feels that his loyalty to his class must come before his loyalty to every thing else and living in class compartments,he becomes class conscious bound to place the interests of his class and for this purpose practices systematically discrimination against persons who do not belong to his caste in every sphere of life what can be democratic Government do. In a society where classes clash and are charged with anti- social feelings and spirit of aggressiveness, the government can hardly discharge its task of governing with justice and fair plays....."

* W. & S. Vol. 4-P.282-283

Adult suffrage

"..... adult suffrage can produce government of the people in the logical sense of the phrase i.e. in contrast to the government of a king. But it can not by itself be said to bring about a democratic government in the sense of the government by the people and for the prople."

* W. & S. Vol. 9 P. 444

A stable government

" Representative government is everywhere a party government. Indeed a party government is such a universal adjunct of representative government that it might well be said that representative government cannot function except through a party government. The best form of party government is that which obtains under two party system both of ensuring stable as well as responsible government. An executive may be made as responsible as it can be made by law to the legislature. But the responsibility will only be nominal if the legislature is so constituted that it could not effectively impose its will on the executive. A stable government requires absence of uncertainty. An executive must be able to plan its way continuously to an ordered scheme of policy. But that invokes an unwavering support of a majority. This can be obtained only out of a two - party -system. It can never be obtained out of a group system. Under the group system the executive will represent not a general body of opinion, but a patch -work of doctrines held by the leaders of different groups who have agreed to compromise their integrity for the sake of power. Such a system can never assure the continuous support necessary for a stable government since the temptation to reshuffling the groups for private advantage is ever present."

* W. & S.-Vol-2-P-355

Government for the people requires personal representation

"That is to say popular Government is not only Government for the people,

but by the people. To express the same in a different way, representation of opinions by itself is not sufficient to constitute popular Government. To cover its true meaning it requires personal representation as well."

* W. & S.-Vol-1-P-247

Essential for good government

".....for good government, ability and efficiency of the governing class are not enough. What is necessary is to have in the governing class the will to do good or to use Dicey's language, freedom from internal limitations arising out of selfish class interests. Efficiency combined with selfish class interests instead of producing good government is far more likely to become a mere engine of suppression of the survile classes."

* W. & S.-Vol-9-P-480

12. COMMUNAL AWARD

I preferred the freedom of the Scheduled Castes than to swaraj

".....I regard as more important the freedom of the Scheduled Castes in India, the community which has been the victim of domination and oppression for over 2000 years." He preferred to work for the uplift of his community rather than swaraj for the country.

...the causes for their sufferings extending over a long period of 2000 years. The Hindu Dharma, ..., was the main cause. Of all religions in the world, it was Hinduism that recognized caste distinctions and untouchability. This was the cover, the cloak, for all injustices perpetrated on the Scheduled Castes by caste Hindus."

* S.M.-Vol-1 - p - 276-277

Untouchables problem is fundamentally a political problem

" There is a view that the problem of the Depressed Classes is a social problem and that its solution must be sought for in the social field. I am surprised that this view prevails even in high quarters. I am afraid that those who hold this view forget that every problem in human society is a social problem. The drink problem, the problem of wages, of hours of work, of housing, of unemployment, insurance are all social problems. In the same sense the problem of untouchability is also a social problem. But the question is not whether the problem is a social problem . The question is whether the use of political power can solve that problem. To that question my answer is emphatically in the affirmative."

* W. & S.-Vol-2-P-359,360

" It is wrong to say that the problem of the Untouchables is a social problem. For it is quite unlike the problems of dowry, widow remarriage, age of consent, etc., which are illustrations of, what are properly called social problems. Essentially, it is a problem of quite of different nature in

as much as it is a problem of securing to a minority liberty and equality of opportunity at the hands of a hostile majority which believes in the denial of liberty and equal opportunity to the minority and conspires to enforce its policy on the minority. Viewed in this light, the problem of the Untouchables is fundamentally a political problem."

* W. & S.-Vol-9-P-190

" We are often reminded that the problem of the Depressed Classes is a social problem and that its solution lies elsewhere than in politics. We take strong exception to this view. We hold that the problem of the Depressed Classes will never be solved unless they get political power in their own hands."

* W. & S.-Vol-2-P-506

Separate and distinct element— entitled for Constitutional safeguards

" The evolution of the Indian Constitution appears to me to have established a sort of a logical syllogism. The major premise in the syllogism is that where there exists an element in the national life of India, which is definable as a separate and distinct element it is entitled to Constitutional safeguards. An element, making a claim for Constitutional safeguards must show that it is definable as separate and distinct from the rest. If it shows that it is separate and distinct, its right to Constitutional safeguards is held admissible."

* W. & S.-Vol-9-P-181-182

" The first fallacy of the Congress lies in its failure to realize that the fundamental issue for settling the question whether to grant or not to grant Constitutional safeguards is union versus separation of a social group in the population. Religion is only a circumstance from which unity or separation may be inferred. The Congress does not seem to have understood that the Mussalmans and the Indian Christian have been given separate political recognition not because they are Mussalmans or Christians but fundamentally because they form in fact separate elements from the Hindus."

* W. & S.-Vol-9-P-185

Untouchables are a separate element.

" My basis of my politics lies in the proposition that the Untouchables are not a subhead or a sub-section of the Hindus, and that they are a separate and a distinct element in the national life of India, as separate and distinct as the Muslims and like the Muslims of India the Untouchables are entitled to separate political right as against the Hindus of India. This is the key-note of my politics.....There was a contest between me and Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi contested that the Untouchables were a sub- section of the Hindus and consequently if any political power was to devolve from the hands of the British it should pass undivided into the hands of the

Hindus who could be trusted to look after the interest of the Untouchables . The position taken up by me was totally different; I contended that the Untouchables formed separate and distinct element in the life of the country. The Hindus who were their hereditary enemies could not be trusted and far from using the political power for raising the Untouchables the fear was that they would use it for perpetuating their subjection, and it was therefore, absolutely necessary that there should be political partition between the Untouchables and the Hindus so that the Untouchables may get political power in their own hands to use it to promote their welfare or to use it to save themselves against the tyranny and oppression of the Hindus."

* W. & S.-Vol-17(III)-P-252-253

".....the Untouchables say that they are a separate element, nobody can accuse them of having invented a new theory for the sake of political advantages. They are merely pointing out what the facts are and how these facts are the heritage of Hinduism itself. The Congress cannot honestly and convincingly use Hinduism as an argument for refusing to recognize the Untouchables as a separate element. If it does, it is only because it is actuated by selfish motives. It knows that the recognition of the Untouchables as an element in the national life of India, as distinct and separate from the Hindus, must result in the apportionment of places in the Executives, the Legislatures and in the Public Services between the Untouchables and the Hindus and thus limit the share of the Hindus. The Congress does not like that the Hindus should be deprived of the share of the Untouchables which the Hindus are in the habit of appropriating to themselves. That is the real reason why the Congress refuses to recognize that the Untouchables are a separate element in the national life of India....

...If there is a real separation between the Hindus and the Untouchables and if there is the danger of discrimination being practiced by the Hindus against the Untouchables then the Untouchables must receive political recognition and must be given political safeguards to protect themselves against the tyranny of the Hindus."

* W. & S.-Vol-9-P-187-188

Landmark in the history of Untouchables

" On the 12th November 1930 his late Majesty king George-V formally inaugurated the Indian Round Table Conference. From the point of view of Indians the Round Table Conference was an event of great significance...

.....for the Untouchables it was a landmark in their History. For, the Untouchables were for the first time allowed to be represented separately by two delegates who happened to be myself and Dewan Bahadur R. Srinivasan. This meant that the Untouchables were regarded not merely a separate element from the Hindus but also of such importance as to have the right to be consulted in the framing of a Constitution for India."

* W. & S.-Vol-9-P-40-41

The safeguards deemed necessary by the Untouchables

" The first thing that was required to be done was to formulate the safeguards deemed necessary by the Untouchables for their protection against the tyranny and oppression of the Hindus. This I did by submitting a Memorandum to the Minorities Committee of the Round Table Conference. To give an idea of the safeguards that were formulated by me, I reproduce below the text of the Memorandum...

The following are the terms and conditions on which the Depressed Classes will consent to place themselves under a majority rule in a self - governing India."

* W. & S.-Vol-9-P-41-42

ADEQUATE REPRESENTATION IN THE LEGISLATURES

" The Depressed Classes must be given sufficient political power to influence legislative and executive action for the purpose of securing their welfare. In view of this they demand that the following provisions shall be made in the electoral law so as to give them-

(1) Right to adequate representation in the Legislatures of the country, Provincial and Central.

(2) Right to elect their own men as their representatives.

(a) by adult suffrage, and

(b) by separate electorates for the first ten years and thereafter by joint electorates and reserved seats, it being understood that joint electorates shall not be forced upon the Depressed Classes against their will unless such joint electorates are accompanied by adult suffrage."

* W. & S.-vol-9-P-47

ADEQUATE REPRESENTATION IN THE SERVICES

" The Depressed classes have suffered enormously at the hands of the high caste officers who have monopolized the public services by abusing the law or by misusing the discretion vested in them in administering it to the prejudice of the Depressed Classes and to the advantage of the caste Hindus without any regard to justice, equity or good conscience. This mischief can only be avoided by destroying the monopoly of Caste Hindus in the public services and by regulating the recruitment to them in such a manner that all communities including the Depressed will have an adequate share in them."

* W. & S.-Vol.- 9 - p -48

Communal Award

" On the 17th August 1932 the decision of the Prime Minister on the communal question was announced. That part of the decision which relates to the Untouchables is produced below ....

Members of the "Depressed Classes" qualified to vote will vote in a general constituency. In view of the fact that for a considerable period these classes would be unlikely by this means alone, to secure any adequate representation in the Legislature, a number of special seats will be assigned to them as shown in the table. These seats will be filled by election from special constituencies in which only members of the "DepressedClasses" electorally qualified will be entitled to vote. Any person voting in such a special constituency will, as stated above, be also entitled to vote in a general constituency."

* W. & S.-Vol- 9-P-79-80-81

Tenure

" His majesty's Government do not consider that these special Depressed Classes constituencies will be required for more than limited time. They intend that the Constitution shall provide that they shall come to an end after 20 years if they have not previously been abolished under the general powers of electoral revision referred to in paragraph 6."

* W. & S.-Vol.- 9 - p - 82

Importance of the Communal Award

"...at the Round Table Conference the Untouchables won and the Mahatma lost. The Communal Award was the result of this contest. Its great virtue lies in the fact that the Untouchables were recognised in the national life of India and entitled to claim separate political rights. That is the importance of the Communal Award.....our claim was reassured and sustained by the declaration of the victory made on the 8th August 1940 in which it was made clear that the Muslims and the Untouchables were distinct and separate elements in the national life of the India and that the British Government will not enforce a Constitution which has not the support of the Muslims and the Depressed Classes."

* W. & S.-Vol-17(III)-P-253

13. POONA PACT

Fast commenced

"...on the 20th September 1932, Mr. Gandhi commenced his "fast unto death" as a protest against the grant of separate electorates to the Untouchables."

* W. & S.-Vol.- 9 - p - 87

An agreement known as Poona Pact

"As to myself it is no exaggeration to say that no man was placed in a greater and graver dilemma than I was then. It was a baffling situation. I had to make a choice between two different alternatives. There was before me the duty, which I owed as a part of common humanity, to save Gandhi

from sure death. There was before me the problem of saving for the Untouchables the political rights, which the Prime Minister had given them. I responded to the call of humanity and saved the life of Mr. Gandhi by agreeing to alter the Communal Award in a manner satisfactory to Mr. Gandhi. The agreement is known as the Poona Pact."

(The Poona Pact was signed on the 24th September 1932.)

* W. & S.-Vol-9-P-88

" It is true that the Poona Pact gave the Untouchables 148 seats, while the Award had only given them 78. But to conclude from this that the Poona pact gave them more than what was given by the Award is to ignore what the Award had in fact given to the Untouchables.

The Communal Award gave the Untouchables two benefits :-

(i) a fixed quota of seats to be elected by separate electorate of Untouchables and to be filled by persons belonging to the Untouchables; (ii) double vote, one to be used through separate electorates and the other to be used in the general electorates.

Now, the Poona pact increased the fixed quota of seats it also took away the right to the double vote."

* W. & S.-Vol-9-P-90

Malignant factor

" One malignant factor, which has been working to weaken our position, is Gandhi and Gandhism. By signing the Poona pact, I helped to save the life of Mr. Gandhi. But Mr. Gandhi accepted the Poona Pact not as a gentleman signing an agreement with the intention to honour his word but as a crafty person seeking to find a way out of a difficulty. For I want you to remember that Mr. Gandhi, notwithstanding the Poona Pact, which saved him from death never gave his true and honest consent to the principle underlying the Poona Pact."

* W. & S.-Vol-17(III)-P-253-254

Fast was the great gamble

" This fast unto death was a great gamble on the part of Mr. Gandhi. He perhaps felt that the mere threat to fast unto death would make me and other Depressed Classes who were with me just shiver and yield. But he soon found that he was mistaken and that the Untouchables were equally determined to fight to the last for their rights. No one except his own followers was convinced that Mr. Gandhi's fast had any moral basis and if Gandhi got a second lease of life, he owes it entirely to the generosity and goodwill shown towards him by the Untouchables."

* W. & S.-Vol.- 5 - p - 343

" There was nothing noble in the fast. It was a foul and filthy act. The

fast was not for the benefit of the Untouchables. It was against them and was the worst form of coercion against a helpless people to give up the Constitutional safeguards of which they had become possessed under the Prime Minister's award and agree to live on the mercy of the Hindus. It was a vile and wicked act. How can the Untouchables regard such a man a honest and sincere?"

* W. & S.-Vol.- 9 - p - 259

Poona Pact is fraught with mischief

" Owing to the extreme disparity between the voting strength of the Hindus and the Scheduled Castes.... disparity which will not disappear even under adult suffrage...a system of joint electorates will not success in giving the Scheduled Castes the chance of returning their true representatives.

The Poona pact has completely disfranchised the Scheduled Castes in as much as candidates whom they rejected in the primary elections...which is a true index of their will...have been returned in the final election by the votes of the caste Hindus.

The Poona pact is thus fraught with mischief. It was accepted because of the coercive fast of Mr. Gandhi and because of the assurance given at the time that the Hindus will not interfere in the election of the Scheduled Castes."

* W. & S.-Vol.- 1 - p - 432

Poona Pact created bondsmen only

"...it was felt that in the case of the Untouchables mere right to vote would not be enough. It was feared that a member elected on the votes of the Untouchables, if he is himself not an Untouchable, might play false and might take no interest in them. It was held that the grievances of the Untouchables must be ventilated in the Legislature and that the surest way of ensuring it would be to provide that a certain number of seats shall be reserved for them so that the Untouchables shall be represented by Untouchables in the legislatures . It is now evident that this hope has not been fulfilled. The Communal Award no doubt gave fewer seats. But they would have been all of them freemen. The Poona pact gave more but they are all filled by bondsmen. If to have a platoon of bondsmen is an advantage then the Poona pact may be said to be advantage."

* W. & S.-Vol- 5-P-351

The Communal Award was intended to free the Untouchables

" There can be no doubt that the real salvation of the Untouchables lies in making the Hindus dependent upon the suffrages of the Untouchables. This is what the Communal Award did. To make the Untouchables depend upon the suffrages of the Hindus is to make them the slaves of the Hindus, which they already are. This is what the Poona

pact does. The Communal Award was intended to free the Untouchables from the thraldom of the Hindus. The Poona pact is designed to place them under the domination of the Hindus."

* W. & S.-Vol-5-P-355

"...the Congress sucked the juice out of the Poona pact and threw the rind in the face of the Untouchables."

* W. & S.-Vol-9-P-102

Need to revise the Poona Pact

" The Poona Pact, which prevented true representatives of the Scheduled Castes from being returned to legislatures, must go. It had resulted in disenfranchising 60,000,000 Untouchables. Even according to international law no treaty was final or sacrosanct, as the Poona pact had now become injurious to their cause, the Scheduled Castes were entitled to fight for its revision."

(21st July 1946- Poona)

* W. & S.-Vol-17(II)-P-241

Views of the foreigners on Poona Pact

" Lord Winterton speaking on the Scheduled Castes, status during the course of the debate on July 16th on India Independence Bill in the House of Commons said that one of the many evil things Mr. Gandhi had done to India was what he had succeeded in bringing about by the Poona pact. Had it not been for his action, these people would have enjoyed a much better franchise than they did today, but Mr. Gandhi threatened to fast to death. If he again threatened to fast to death after the transfer, it would not be the affair of the British Government."

* W. & S.-Vol-17 (II)-P-520

" I cannot now influence the decision of the Constitution making body, but it is quite clear that under the Poona pact the Scheduled Castes did not get a chance of electing their ultimate representatives who would really represent their point of view." Mr. Butler

* W. & S.-Vol-17(II)-P-521

14. SEPARATE V/S JOINT ELECTORATES

"...separate electorates does not permit the Hindus to capture the seats reserved for the Untouchables. On the other hand the joint electorate does."

* W. & S.-Vol-9-P-413

".....things will be much worse under the system of joint electorates and reserved seats which will hereafter become operative under the terms of the Poona pact. This is no more speculation. The last election (1946)

has conclusively proved that the Scheduled Castes can be completely disfranchised in a joint electorate."

* C.S - P

" The joint electorate is from the point of the Hindus to use a familiar phrase a "rotten borough" in which the Hindus get the right to nominate an Untouchable to set nominally as a representative of the Untouchables but really as a tool of the Hindus."

* W. & S.-Vol.- 9 - p - 414

15. RESERVATION

What is reservation ?

"...reservation is a... protection against the aggressive communalism of the governing class."

* W. & S.-Vol.- 9 - p - 478

Purpose of reservation

" As to the demand for reservations by the servile classes the reason behind it is to put a limit on the power of the governing classes to have control over the instrumentalities of Government."

* W. & S.-Vol.- 9 - p - 482

...I only want to make it clear that we cannot be part of the " Hindu society in any circumstances. We want to be partners in running the government of this country. We want partition of political rights. Our political rights must be recognized distinctly from those of the Hindus separately "

* S & M.-Vol.- 1- p - 250

" The purpose of these guarantees demanded by the Untouchables is not to fill the Legislature, the Executive and the Administration by the representatives of the Untouchables. These guarantees are really floorings below, which the Untouchables will not fall under the crushing pressure of the Hindu Communal Majority. They are intended to keep the Hindu Communal Majority within bounds. For, if there were no such guarantees to the Untouchables, the result will be that the Hindu Communal Majority will not only capture the Legislature, the Executive and the Administration but the legislature, the Executive and the Administration will be over-run by the Hindu Communal Majority and these powerful organs of the State, instead of protecting the minorities, will become the tools of the Hindu Communal Majority doing its biddings."

* W. & S.-Vol-9-P-170-171

Base for demand of the reservation

1. To make swaraj- a reality :-"...words such as society, nation and country are just amorphous if not ambiguous terms. There is no gainsaying

that 'nation' though one word means many classes. Philosophically, it may be possible to consider a nation as a unit but sociologically it cannot but be regarded as consisting of many classes and the freedom of the nation, if it is to be reality, must vouchsafe the freedom of the different classes comprised in it, particularly of those who are treated as the servile classes."

* W. & S.-Vol-9-P-444

2. To make India safe for democracy: -"...the Untouchables are not opposed to freedom from British Imperialism. But they refuse to be content with mere freedom from British Imperialism. What they insist upon is that free India is not enough. Free India should be made safe for democracy. Starting with this aim, they say that on account of the peculiar social formation in India there are minority communities pitted against a Hindu Communal Majority, that if no provisions are made in the Constitution to cut the fangs of the Hindu Communal Majority, India will not be safe for democracy. The Untouchables therefore insist on devising a Constitution which will take note of the special circumstances of India and contain safeguards which will prevent this Hindu Communal Majority in Indian society from getting possession of political power to suppress and oppress the Untouchables with at least a modicum of political power to prevent their suppression and exploitation, and to enable them at least to hold their own in their struggle for existence against the communal majority."

* W. & S.-Vol-9-P-169

3. Historical background: -"...the Brahmins, the chief and the leading element in the governing class, acquired their political power not by force of intellect- for intellect is nobody's monopoly-but by sheer communalism. According to the laws of Manu Smriti the post of the purohit, king Chaplain and Lord Chancellor, the posts of the chief justice and judges of the High Court and the post of Ministers to the Crown were all reserved for the Brahmins. Even for the post of the Commander-in-chief the Brahmin was recommended as a fit and a proper person though it was no in terms reserved for him."

* W. & S.-Vol-9-P-477

4. Constitutional base: - " In India unlike other countries the governing class is so omnipotent and omnipresent that other remedies besides adult suffrage will be necessary to give adequate power to the servile classes to protect themselves against exploitation by governing classes. Looked at in the light of these observations, the reservations demanded by the servile classes, though different in form the checks and balances embodied in the American Constitution, are fundamentally checks and balances, and must be considered."

* W. & S.-Vol-9-P-482-483

" In framing a Constitution the social structure must always be kept in mind. The political structure must be related to the social structure. The operation of the social forces is not confined to the social field. They pervade the political field also."

* W. & S.-Vol-9-P-423

5. Logical base :-" In selecting the instrumentalities of the State considerations of class bias in the instrumentalities cannot be overlooked. It is in fact fundamental to good government. It is unfortunate that the importance of this fact is not generally recognized even by those who regard themselves as the champions of democracy. Karl Marx was the first to recognize it and take account of it in the administration the Paris commune...the demand for reservations put forth by the servile classes in India is essentially based upon the same considerations pointed out by Dicey, advocated by Marx and adopted by Russia. Only those who belong to the servile class can be trusted to protect the interest of that class. This consideration is so important that the principle of efficiency cannot be allowed to altogether override it."

* W. & S.-Vol-9-P-480-481

"...what we want is not equality, what we want is equity. What I want to urge before this House is this. Equality is not necessarily equity. (Interruption). I am going to prove it. In order that it may produce equity in society, in order that it may produce justice in society different people have to be treated unequally. Why go far? Take the case of income tax. I am a student of finance and so this illustration comes to my mind readily. Why do we have progressive income tax? Why don't we tax all people alike. The reason why we tax the rich at a higher rate and the poor at a lower rate is because the taxable capacity of the two is different. In a case like that equality would produce the greatest inequity. Take an ordinary case. Suppose, in a household, there are several persons of whom one is sick . In oder that the sick person may get out of sickness and in order that he may become better, we give chicken soup to him, but we do not give chicken soup to the others. No one would blame the mother of the household if she gave chicken soup to the sick member and denied it to the other adult members who are enjoying robust health. What we want is equity. This equity cannot be produced, if we propose to treat the strong and the weak, the rich and the poor, the ignorant and the intelligent on the same footing."

* W. & S.-Vol-2-P-230-231

6. Social background: - " They say that Indian social life has to be reckoned in terms of communities. There is no escape. Communities are such hard facts of Indian social life that it would be wrong to accept that communal impulse and communal prejudice do not dominate the relations of the communities. The social psychology of the Hindu Communal Majority is dominated by the dogma, which recognizes not merely inequality but graded inequality as the rule govening the inter-relationship among the various communites . This dogma of graded inequality is absolutely inimical to liberty and fraternity. It cannot be believed that this graded inequality will vanish or that the Hindus will strive to abolish it. That is impossible. This graded inequality is not accidental or incidental. It is the religion of the Hindus. It is the official doctrine of Hinduism. It is sacred and no Hindu can think of doing away with it. The Hindu Communal Majority with its religion of graded inequality is not therefore a passing phase. It is a permanent fact and a menace for ever. In making a Constitution of India

the existence of standing communal majority cannot be ignored and the problem of devising safeguards so as to reconcile it with political democracy must be faced."

* W. & S.-Vol-9-P-170

" There is another distinguishing feature of the Indian caste system, which justifies why the Indian Constitution must take account of it and provide against mischief arising from it. Every society consists of groups. But it must be recognized that the mutual relations of the groups are not the same everywhere. In one society groups may be only non-social in their attitude towards one another, but in another they may be antisocial. Where the spirit, which actuates the various social groups, is only non-social their existence may not be taken into account in framing a Constitution. There is no cause for danger in a group, which is only non-social. But where a group is actuated by an anti-social spirit towards another and to which alien is synonymous with enemy the fact must be taken into account in framing the Constitution and the class which has been the victim of anti-social spirit must be given protection by proper safeguards."

* W. & S.-Vol-9-P-193-194

7. Hostile ..... administration "..... power of administration now a days includes the power to legislate. No statute in modern days is complete and exhaustive. Most allow the administrations the statutory power to make rules to carry into effect the purposes of the Act. Secondly, whether the law is beneficial or not depends upon how efficaciously and how justly it is carried out. Good administration is therefore far more important than good laws. Good laws may prove of no avail if the administration is bad. Administration is therefore a vital question for the Scheduled Castes who are more interested in good administration than in good laws. Is the present administration good administration? What do the Scheduled Castes think of the present day administration? There can be no doubt that the view universally held is that the whole administration is hostile, unjust, and perverse in its attitude towards the Scheduled Castes all over India. Indeed much of the suffering and harassment of the Scheduled Castes population arises from the fact that the discretion vested in public servants is in almost all cases exercised against the interests of the Scheduled Castes and with the object of keeping them down. This is as it must be given the mentality of the Hindu and Muslim officers, towards the Scheduled Castes. This will continue to be so as long as the personnel of the administration is drawn from classes who have been opposed to the Scheduled Castes and who believe in their suppression. There cannot be a more powerful argument than that of the advantage and welfare of the general population of the Scheduled Castes to show that the entry of the Scheduled Castes in the public service must be regarded as a most vital consideration."

* W. & S.-Vol-10-P-417

Reply to the arguments of the opponents

1. Efficiency: - " The case for Indianisation, it must be remembered,

did not rest upon efficient administration. It rested upon considerations of good administration. It was not challenged that the Indian was inferior to the European in the qualities that go into the makeup of an efficient administrator. It was not denied that the European bureaucracy had improved their roads, constructed canals on more scientific principles, effected transportation by rail, carried their letters by penny post, flashed their messages by lightening, improved their currency, regulated their weights and measures, corrected their notions of geography, astronomy and medicine, and stopped their internal quarrels. Nothing can be a greater testimony to the fact that the European bureaucracy constituted the most efficient government possible. All the same the European bureaucracy efficient though it was, was condemned as it was found to be wanting in those qualities which make for human administration. It is therefore somewhat strange that those who clamored for Indianisation should oppose the stream flowing in the direction of the Backward Classes forgetting that the case for Indianisation also includes the case for the Backward Classes. Be that as it may, I attached far more importance to this than I attach either to Provincial Autonomy or to complete responsibility in the Provincial Executive. I would not be prepared to allow the devolution of such large powers if I felt that those powers are likely to fall in the hands of any one particular community to the exclusion of the rest."

* W. & S.-Vol-2-P-398

2. " Nobody will have any quarrel with the abstract principle that nothing should be done whereby the best shall be superseded by one who is only better and the better by one who is merely good and the good by one who is bad. But the argument completely fails to carry conviction when in practice one finds that having regard to the historical circumstances of India every time the 'best man' is chosen he turns out to be a man from the governing class. This may be alright from the point of view of the governing class. But can it be right from the point of view of the servile class? Could the 'best' German be the 'best' for the French? Could the 'best' Turk be 'best' for the Greeks? Could the 'best' pole be regarded best for the Jews? There can hardly be any doubt as to the correct answer to these questions.

In answering this question two things cannot be overlooked. One is that a great man is not necessarily a good man. The other is that man is not a mere machine without any feelings. This is even true of the 'best' man. He too is charged with the feelings of class sympathies and class antipathies. Having regard to these considerations the 'best' man from the governing class may well turn out to be the worst from the point of view of the servile classes.

Mere efficiency can never be accepted as a test. If it was accepted as the only test the result would be that the affairs of the French might well be run by the Germans, of Turks by the Russian and of Chinese by the Japanese. Those who hold out the theory of naked efficiency and nothing

but efficiency as the test of good Government should ask the French, the Turks and the Chinese as to what they have to say about it and how they like the result which follows from its application."

* W. & S.-Vol-9-P-475-476

Tenure

"The decision to limit the thing to ten years was really a decision, which has been arrived at with their consent. I personally was prepared to press for a large time, because I do feel that so far as the Scheduled Castes are concerned they are not treated on the same footing as the other minorities. For instance, so far as I know the special reservation for the Mussalmans started in the year 1892; so to say, the beginning was made then. Therefore, the Muslims had practically enjoyed these privileges for more or less sixty years. The Christians got this privilege under the Constitution of 1920 and they have enjoyed it for 28 years. The Scheduled Castes got this only in the Constitution of 1935. The commencement of this benefit of special reservation practically began in the year 1937 when that Act came into operation. Unfortunately for them, they had the benefit of this only for two years far from 1939 practically upto the present moment, or upto 1946, the Constitution was suspended and the Scheduled Castes were not in a position to enjoy the benefits of the privileges which were given to them in the 1935 Act, and it would have been quite proper I think and generous on the part of this House to have given the Scheduled Castes a longer term with regard to these reservations, but as I said it was all accepted by the House.

If at the end of the ten years, the Scheduled Castes find that their position has not improved or that they want further extension of this period, it will not be beyond their capacity or their intelligence to invent new ways of getting the same protection which they are promised here."

* W. & S.-Vol-13-P-852

16. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNTOUCHABLES AND CONGRESS

Dire consequences of joining the Congress by Untouchables

I. Killed the spirit of revolt

" It is my firm conviction that for the Untouchables to merge in the Congress or for the matter of that in any large political party cannot but be fatal for them.

The Untouchables need a movement if they are to remain conscious of their wrongs and if the spirit of revolt is kept alive amongst them, they need a movement because the Caste Hindus have to be told that what is tragedy of the Untouchables is their crime. The Congress may not be a

red-blooded Hindu body so far as the Mussalmans are concerned. But it is certainly a full-blooded and blue-blooded Hindu body in as much as it consists of Caste Hindus. A movement of the Untouchables must mean an open war upon the Caste Hindus. A movement of the Untouchables within the Congress is quite impossible. It must mean an inter necine within the party. The Congress for its own safety cannot allow it."

* W. & S.-Vol-5-P-344

II. Due to loss of freedom they became muzzled dogs

" The Untouchables must retain their right to freedom of speech and freedom of action on the floor of the legislature if they are to ventilate their grievances and obtain redress of their wrongs by political action. But this freedom of speech and action has been lost by the representatives of the Untouchables who have joined the Congress. They cannot vote as they like, they cannot speak as they think. They cannot ask a question, they cannot move a resolution and they cannot bring a bill. They are completely under the control of the Congress party executive. They have only such freedom as the Congress Executive may choose to allow them. The result is that though the tale of woes of the Untouchables is ever increasing, the Untouchable members of the legislatures are unable even to ask a question about them. So pitiable has their condition become that the Congress party sometimes requires them to vote against a measure that may in the opinion of the Untouchable members of the legislature be beneficial to the Untouchables.....

.....The representatives of the Untouchables were supposed to be the watchdogs of the Untouchables. But by reason of having joined the Congress they are muzzled dogs. Far from biting they are not even able to bark. This loss of freedom of speech and action by these Untouchable members is entirely due to their having joined the Congress and subjected them to the discipline of the Congress."

* W. & S.-Vol-5-P-344-345

III. All social movement became dead

" The Untouchables who are in it are at the end of the tail and the tail so lengthened that it cannot wag. This is the second reason why joining the Congress can be of no benefit to the Untouchables.

Such are the disadvantages that have arisen from the Untouchables having joined the Congress. They are not merely disadvantages. I call them dire consequences. All social movement has become dead. All political power has become migratory. It is understatement to say that under the new Constitution the Untouchables are marking time. The fact is that they have been put in chains."

* W. & S.-Vol-5-P-346-47

Untouchable leaders are systematically condemned

"The Hindus have been opposing the political demands of the Untouchables with the tenacity of a bulldog and the perversity of a renegade. The press is theirs and they make a systematic attempt to ignore the Untouchables. When they fail to ignore them they buy their leaders; and where they find a leader not open to purchase they systematically abuse him, misrepresent him, blackmail him and do everything possible that lies in their power to suppress him and silence him. Any such leader who is determined to fight for the cause of the Untouchables he and his followers are condemned as anti-national."

* W. & S.-Vol-9-P-427

17. LINGUISTIC PROVINCES

Indians should own up Hindi

" One language can unite people .Two languages are sure to divide people. This is an inexorable law. Culture is conserved by language. Since Indians wish to unite and develop a common culture it is the bounden duty of all Indians to own up Hindi as their language."

* W. & S.-Vol-1-P-145

Liguistic Provinces and democracy

" Linguistic Provinces would make democracy work better than it would in mixed Provinces. A linguistic Province produces what democracy needs, namely, social homogeneity. Now the homogeneity of a people depends upon their having a belief in a common origin, in the possession of a common language and literature, in their pride in a common historic tradition, community of social customs, etc. is a proposition, which no student of sociology can dispute. The absence of a social homogeneity in a State creates a dangerous situation especially where such a State is raised on a democratic structure. History shows that democracy cannot work in a State where the population is not homogeneous."

* W. & S. -Vol. -1-P-103

" We therefore want linguistic States for two reasons. To make easy the way to democracy and to remove racial and cultural tension."

* W. & S.-Vol-1-P-145

" By a linguistic Province, I mean a Province which by the social composition of its population is homogeneous and therefore more suited for the realization of those social ends which a democratic government must fulfill. In my view, a linguistic Province has nothing to do with the language of the Province. In the scheme of linguistic Provinces, a language has necessarily to play its part. But its part can be limited to the creation of the Province i.e. for demarcation of the Province."

* W. & S. -Vol-1-P-104

Official language of Central and Province should be same

"There is no danger in creating linguistic Provinces. Danger lies in creating linguistic Provinces with the language of each Province as its official language. The latter would lead to the creation of provincial nationalities. For the use of the provincial language as official languages would lead provincial cultures to be isolated, crystalized, hardened and solidified. It would be fatal to allow this to happen. To allow this is to allow the Provinces to become independent nations, separate in everything and thus open the road to the ruination of United India."

* W. & S. -Vol-1-P-105

"While accepting the principle of linguistic Provinces it must provide against the break up of India's unity. My solution of the problem therefore is that, while accepting the demand for the reconstitution of Provinces on linguistic basis, the Constitution should provide that the official language of every Province should be the same as the official language of the Central Government."

* W. & S. -Vol-1-P-104

"Any Indian who does not accept this proposal, as part and parcel of a linguistic State has no right to be an Indian. He may be a hundred percent Maharashtrian, a hundred percent Tamil or a hundred percent Gujarathi, but he cannot be an Indian in the real sense of the word except in a geographical sense. If my suggestion is not accepted India will then cease to be India. It will be a collection of different nationalities engaged in rivalries and wars against one another."

* W. & S.-Vol-I-P-145-146

"A linguistic State with its regional language as its official language may easily develop into an independent nationality. The road between an independent nationality and an independent State is very narrow. If this happens, India will cease to be Modern India we have and will become the medieval India consisting of a variety of States indulging in rivalry and warfare."

* W. & S.-Vol-I-P-145

.....the principles which should underlay the creation of Linguistic States ..... may be stated as below :

1. The idea of having a mixed State must be completely abandoned.
2. Every State must be an unilingual State. One State, one language.
3. The formula one State, one language must not be confused with the formula of one language, one State.
4. The formula one language, one State means that all people speaking one language should be brought under one Government irrespective of area, population and dissimilarity of conditions among the people speaking the language. This is the idea that underlies the agitation for

a united Maharashtra with Bombay. This is an absurd formula and has no precedent for it. It must be abandoned. A people speaking one language may be cut up into many States as is done in other parts of the world.

5. Into how many States a people speaking one language should be cut up, should depend upon (1) the requirements of efficient administration, (2) the needs of the different areas, (3) the sentiments of the different areas and (4) the proportion between the majority and minority.

6. As the area of the State increases the proportion of the minority to the majority decreases and the position of the minority becomes precarious and the opportunities for the majority to practices tyranny over the minority become greater. The States must therefore be small.

7. The minorities must be given protection to prevent the tyranny of the majority. To do this the Constitution must be amended and provisions must be made "for a system on plural member constituencies (two or three) with cumulative voting."

* W. & S. - Vol-I-P-165

"Sir, in the case of creation of linguistic States, in my judgement there appears to me to be two considerations. One is that the linguistic State must be a viable State. It may be that this is a small State which has got a culture and which has got a "language and which has got a separate feeling and an entity. Yet it is so small that it cannot find the means of carrying on its Administration. People do not live on culture. People do not live on language. People live on the resources that they possess. But if God has given them culture and God has given them language but God has not given them the resource, I am afraid they cannot have the luxury of having a separate linguistic State. The second thing is this. It is only in our country that we find that linguistic Provinces create difficulty. I would like to ask the question as to why there are no difficulties in Switzerland although Switzerland itself is a multilingual unit? The Cantons have French, German and Italian. Yet they are a very happy nation and they are the most prosperous nation today. Why is it that Switzerland has no provinces although it is a multi-lingual unit? The answer which I can give is this that Linguism in Switzerland is not loaded with communalism. But in our country linguist is only another name for communalism. What happens when you create a linguistic Province is that you hand over the strings of Administration to one single community, which happens to be the majority community, and I can cite many Provinces where -this is likely to happen. That community charged with a feeling of its own sacred existence begins to practice the worst kind of communalism which otherwise is called discrimination.

Discrimination creates injustice and injustice creates ill feeling. If our-linguism were not charged with communalism our linguism would not be a danger to us at all. But the fact is that it is. But it seems to me that in order

to do away with the community practising communalism being in office these two remedies are worth while, namely, to give the power to the Governor to override and secondly, to appoint small committees who can make representations either to the Ministry or to the Governor."

* W. & S-Vol-15-P-859

18. PAKISTAN OR THE PARTITION OF INDIA

The philosophical justification

" The philosophical justification for Pakistan rests upon the distinction between a community and a nation, in the first place, it is recognized comparatively recently. Political philosophers for a long time were concerned, mainly, with the controversy summed up in the two questions, how far should the right of a mere majority to rule the minority be accepted as a rational basis for government and how for the legitimacy of a government be said to depend upon the consent of the governed. Even those who insisted, that the legitimacy of a-government depended upon the consent of the governed, remained content with a victory for their proposition and did not care to probe further into the matter. They did not feel the necessity for making any distinctions within the category of the 'governed'. They evidently thought that it was a matter of no moment whether those who were included in the category of the governed formed a community or a nation. Force of circumstances, has, however, compelled political philosophers to accept this distinction. In the second place, it is not a mere distinction without a difference. It is a distinction which is substantial and the difference is consequentially fundamental.....To a community they are prepared to allow only the right of insurrection. But to a nation they are willing to concede the right of disruption. The distinction between the two is as obvious as it is fundamental. A right of insurrection is restricted only to insisting on a change in the mode and manner of government. The right of disruption is greater than the right of insurrection and extends to the succession of a group of the members of a Sate with a succession of the portion of the State's territory in its occupation..... To my mind the reason for this difference pertains to questions of ultimate destiny. A state either consists of a series of communities or it consists of a series of nations. In a state, which is composed of a series of communities, one community may be arrayed against another community and then two may be opposed to each other. But in the matter of their ultimate destiny they feel they are one. But in a state, which is composed of a series of nations. When one nation rises against the other, the conflict is one as to differences of ultimate destiny. This is the distinction between communities and nations and it is this distinction which explains the difference in their political rights. There is nothing new or original in this explanation. It is merely another way of stating why the community has one kind of right and the nation another of quite a different kind. A community has a right of insurrection because it is satisfied with it. All

that it wants is a change in the mode and form of government. Its quarrel is not over any difference of ultimate destiny. A nation has to be accorded the right of disruption because it will not be satisfied with mere changes in the form of government. Its quarrel is not over any difference of ultimate destiny. A nation has to be accorded the right of disruption because it will not be satisfied with mere changes in the form of government. Its quarrel is over the question of ultimate, destiny. If it will not be satisfied unless the unnatural bond that binds them is dissolved, then prudence and even ethics demands that the bond shall be dissolved and they shall be freed each to pursue its own destiny."

* W. & S. - Vol-8-P-325

Failure of Hindu - Muslim unity

"..... failure of Hindu-Muslim unity lies in the failure to realize that what stands between the Hindus and Muslims is not a mere matter of difference, and that this antagonism is not to be attributed to material causes. It is formed by causes, which take their origin in historical, religious, cultural, and social antipathy of which political antipathy is only a reflection. These form one deep river of discontent which being regularly fed by these sources, keeps on mounting to a head and overflowing it so ordinary channels. Any current of water flowing from another source however pure, when it joins it, instead of altering the colour or diluting its strength becomes lost in the main stream. The silt of this antagonism, which this current has deposited, has become permanent and deep, so long as this silt keeps on accumulating and long as this antagonism lasts, it is unnatural to expect this antipathy between Hindus and Muslims to give place to unity.

.....Neither religion nor social code can bridge this gulf .The two faiths are mutually exclusive and whatever harmonies may be forged in the interest of good social behavior, at their core and center they are irreconcilable. There seems to be an inherent antagonism between the two which centuries have not been able to dissolve. Notwithstanding the efforts made to bring the creed, together by reformers like Akbar and Kabir the ethical realities behind each have still reminded, to use a mathematical phrase, which nothing can, alter or make integers capable of having a common denominator. A Hindu can go from Hinduism to Christianity without causing any commotion or shock. But he cannot pass from Hinduism to Islam without causing a communal riot, certainly not without causing qualms. That shows the depth of the antagonism, which divides the Hindus from the Muslamans.....

.....defects in Hinduism and in Islam which are responsible for keeping the sore between Hindus and Muslims open and running. Hinduism is said to divide people and in contrast Islam is said to bind people together. This is only a half-truth. For Islam divides as inexorably as it binds. Islam is a close corporation and the distinction that it makes between Muslims

and non-Muslims is a very real, very positive and very alienating distinction. The brotherhood of Islam is not the universal brotherhood of man. It is brotherhood of Muslim for Muslim only. There is a fraternity but its benefit is confined to those within that corporation. For those who are outside the corporation, there is nothing but contempt and enmity. The second defeat of Islam is that it is a system of social self-government, because the allegiance of a Muslim dose not rest on his domicile in country which is his, but on the faith to which he belongs. To the Muslim ibi bene ibi patria is unthinkable. Wherever there is the rule of Islam, there is his own country. In other words, Islam can never allow a true Muslim to adopt India as his motherland and regard a Hindu as his kith and kin."

* W. & S.-Vol-8-P- 329-330

" The history of the last 30 years shows that Hindu-Muslim unity has not been realized. On the contrary, there now exists the greatest disunity between them; that efforts, sincere and persistent-have been made to achieve it and that nothing now remains to be done to achieve it except surrender by one party to the other. If anyone, who is not in the habit of cultivating optimism where there is no justification for it, said that the pursuit of Hindu-Muslim unity is like a mirage and that the idea must now be given up, no one can have the courage to call him a pessimist or an impatient Idealist."

* W. & S.-Vol-8-P- 313

Disadvantages of forced political union

" It is a question to be considered whether integral India is an ideal worth fighting for. In the first place, even if India remained as one integral whole it will never be an organic whole. India may in name continue to be known as one country but in reality it will be two separate countries - Pakistan and Hindustan - joined together by a forced and artificial union. This will be specially so under the stress of the two-nation theory ..... The two - nation theory will not leave room even for the growth of that sentimental desire for unity. The spread of that virus of dualism in the body politic must some day create a mentality, which is sure to call for a life and death struggle for the dissolution of this forced union. If by reason of some superior force the dissolution does not take place, one thing is sure to happen to India-namely, that; this continued union will go on sapping her vitality, loosening its cohesion, weakening its hold on the love and faith of her people and preventing the use, if not retarding the growth of its moral and material resources. India will be an anemic and sickly state, ineffective, a living corpse, dead though not buried.

The second disadvantage of this forced union will be the necessity for finding a basis for Hindu Muslim settlement. How difficult it is to reach a settlement no one needs to be told. Short of dividing India into Pakistan and Hindustan what more can be offered without injury to the other interests in the country than what has already been conceded with a view to bring about a settlement, it is difficult to conceive. But whatever the difficulties,

it cannot be gain said that if this forced union continues, there can be no political advance for India unless it is accompanied by communal settlement, indeed, a communal settlement-rather an international settlement for now and hereafter the Hindu and the Muslims must be treated as two nations-will remain under this scheme of forced union a condition precedent for every inch of political progress.

There will be a third disadvantage of this forced political union. It cannot eliminate the presence of a third party. In the first place the Constitution, if one comes in existence will be a federation of mutually suspicious and unfriendly states. They will of their own accord want the presence of a third party to appeal to in cases of dispute. For their suspicious and unfriendly relationship towards each other will come in the way of the two nation ever reaching satisfaction by the method of negotiation. India will not have in future even that unity of opposition to the British, which used to gladden the hearts of so many in the past. For the two nation will be more opposed to each other than before ever to become united against the British. In the second place, the basis of the Constitution will be settlement between the Hindus and the Muslims and for the successful working of such a Constitution the presence of a third party, and be it noted, with sufficient armed force, will be necessary to see that the settlement is not broken.

All this, of course, means the frustration of the political destiny, which both Hindus and Muslims profess to cherish and the early consummation of which they so devoutly wish what else, however, can be expected if two warring nations are locked in the bosom of one country and one Constitution.?

Compare with this dark vista, the vista that opens out if India is divided into Pakistan and Hindustan. The partition opens the way to a fulfillment of the destiny each may fix for itself. Muslims will be free to choose for their Pakistan independence or dominion status, whatever they think good for themselves. Hindus will be free to choose for their Hindustan independence or dominion status, whatever they may think wise for their condition. The Muslims will be freed from the nightmare of Hindu Raj. Thus the path of political progress becomes smooth for both. The fear of the object being frustrated gives place to the hope of fulfillment. Communal settlement must remain a necessary condition precedent, if India, as one integral whole, desires to make any political advance. But Pakistan and Hindustan are free from the rigorous trammels of such a condition precedent and even if a communal settlement with minorities remained to be a condition precedent it will not be difficult to fulfil. The path of each is cleared of this obstacle. There is another advantage of Pakistan, which must be mentioned. It is generally admitted that there does exist a kind of antagonism between Hindus and Muslims, which if not dissolved will prove ruinous to the peace, and progress of India."

* W. & S. Vol. 8, P. 339-341

Pakistan __ the obvious remedy

" Pakistan is the obvious remedy, it certainly removes the chief condition which makes for the menace. Pakistan liberates both the Hindus and the Muslims from the fear of enslavement of and encroachment against each other. It removes, by providing a separate Constitution for each. Pakistan and Hindustan, the very basis which leads to this perpetual struggle for keeping a balance of power in the day-to-day life and frees them to take in hand those vital matters of urgent social importance which they are now force to put aside in cold storage, and improve the lives of their people, which after all is the main object of this fight for swaraj."

* W. & S.-Vol-8-P-248

Exchange of population

" How far does the creation of Pakistan remove the communal question from Hindustan? That is a very legitimate question and must be considered. It must be admitted that by the creation of Pakistan, Hindustan is not freed of the communal question, while Pakistan can be made a homogeneous state by redrawing its boundaries, Hindustan must remain a composite state. The Musaltmans are scattered all over Hindustan- though they are mostly congregated in towns -and no ingenuity in the matter of redrawing of boundaries can make it homogeneous. The only way to make Hindustan homogeneous is to arrange for exchange of population.. Until that is done, it must be admitted that even with the creation of Pakistan, the problem of majority Vs. minority will remain in Hindustan as before and will continue to produce disharmony in the body politic of- Hindustan."

* W. & S. Vol.8, P- 117

India separeted from Pakistan

" I was glad that India was separated from Pakistan. I was the philosopher, so to say, of Pakistan, I advocated partition because I felt that it was only by partition that Hindus would not only be independent, but free. If India and Pakistan had remained united in one State Hindus though independent would have been at the mercy of the Muslims. A merely Independent India would not have been a free India from the point of view of the Hindus. It would have been a Government of one country by two nations and of these two the Muslims without question would have been the ruling race notwithstanding Hindu Mahasabha and Jana Sangh."

* W. & S.-Vol-I-P-146

19. PROBLEM OF KASHMIR

The right solution is to partition Kashmir

".... my view has always been that the right solution is to partition

Kashmir. Give the Hindu and Buddhist part to India and the Muslim part to Pakistan as we did in the case of India. We are really not concerned with the Muslim part of Kashmir. It is a matter between the Muslims of Kashmir and Pakistan. They may decide the issue as they like, or if you like, divide it into three parts; the Cease-fire zone, the Valley and the Jammu, Ladhak Region and have a plebiscite only in the Valley."

* W. & S.-Vol-14 (II)-P- 1322

Solve this Kashmir problem quickly

".... we never seem to be able to realize that the sooner we settle this Kashmir problem the better for us, because if the excuse for this enormous increase in our Defense Budget is to be attributed to the Kashmir tangle, is it not our duty to do something, to contribute something, positively in order to bring that dispute to an end.? I cannot expatiate on the subject, but so far as I have been able to study the part played by the Government of India in connection with the negotiations that' have been taking place on the settlement of the Kashmir issue, I am sorry to say that I have not read a single word which I can describe as a positive and not a negative suggestion on the part of the Government of India to settle this question..... It is not possible for us to borrow something from the line of action taken by the League of Nation with regard to the plebiscite in Upper Silesid and Alsace- lorraine which we can usefully carry into the Kashmir dispute and have the matter settled quickly so that we can release Rs.50 Crores from the Defence Budget and utilize it for the benefit of our people?"

* W. & S.-Vol-I5-P-849

20. FOREIGN POLICY

The geographical factor must be taken into account

"One must not forget that in the foreign policy of a country the geographical factor is one of the most important factors. Each country's foreign policy must vary with its geographical location in relation to the factor with which it is dealing. What is good for Canada may not be good for us. What is good for England may not be good for us."

* W. & S.-Vol-I5-P-879

".....I was going to point the House how this country has been completely encircled on one side by Pakistan and the other Muslim countries. I do not know what is going to happen, but now that the barrier between Egypt and England has been removed by the handing over of the Suez Canal, I think, there may be very little difficulty in the Muslim countries joining with Pakistan and forming a block on that side. On this side by allowing the Chinese to take possession of Lhasa, the Prime Minister has practically helped the Chinese to bring their border down to

the Indian border. Looking at all these things, it seems to me that it would be an act of levity not to believe that India, if it is not exposed to aggression right now, is exposed to aggression and that- aggression might well be committed by people who always are in the habit of committing aggression.

.....The keynote of our foreign policy is to solve the problems of the other countries, and not to solve the problems of our own. We have here the problem of Kashmir. We have never succeeded in solving it. Everybody seems to have forgotten that it is a problem. But I suppose, some day, we may wake up and find that the ghost is there. And I find that the Prime Minister has launched upon the project of digging a tunnel connecting Kashmir to India. Sir, I think, it is one of the most dangerous things that a Prime Minister could do.....The prime Minister, in digging the tunnel, thinks that he alone would be able to use it. He does not realise that it can always be a two-way traffic, and that a conqueror who comes on the other side and captures Kashmir, can come away straight to Pathankot, and probably come into the Prime Minister's house.-..,.....

.....The Panchsheel, as you sir, know it well, is the essential part of the Buddhist religion, and if Mr. Mao had any faith in the Panchsheel, he certainly would treat the Buddhists in his own country in a very different way. There is no room for Panchsheel in politics and secondly, not in the politics of a communist country. The communist countries have two well-known principles on which they always act. One is that morality is always in a flux. There is no morality. Today's morality is not tomorrow's morality.

You can keep your word in accordance with the morality of today and you can break your word with equal justification tomorrow, because tomorrow's morality will be different. The second thing is that when the Russian Communist State is dealing with the other States, each transaction is a unit by itself. When we deal with somebody, we begin with goodwill and end with gratitude. When the Russians deal with somebody, they do not begin with goodwill, nor do they end with any gratitude. Each transaction begins and ends by itself. And this is what I am sure the Prime Minister will find at the end when the situation ripens..... What unity can there be among Asiatic? What is the use of talking about Asia for Asiatic? There can be no such thing at all. Asia is already becoming the cockpit of war and strife among Asians themselves. It is better to align ourselves with what we call free nations if we believe in freedom .

..... I am very sorry to say that, because I feel that if the Prime Minister had in the very beginning taken an active interest in the matter, I am sure about it that a small police action on the part of the Government of India? would have been quite sufficient to enable us to get possession of Goa, but he has always been only shouting against them, only shouting and doing nothing. The result has been that the Portuguese have been able, so far as we know, to garrison Goa."

* W. & S.-Vol-15-P-881-883

" Any one, who has followed the course of our foreign policy, and

along with it the attitude of other countries towards India, could not fail to realise the sudden change that has taken place in their attitude towards us. On 15th of August 1947, when we began our life as an independent country, there was no country, which wished us ill. Every country in the world was our friend. Today, after four years, all our friends have deserted us. We have no friends left. We have alienated ourselves. We are pursuing a lonely furrow with no one even to second our resolutions in the UNO. When I think of our foreign policy, I am reminded of what Bismarck and Bernard Shaw have said "Politics is not a game of realizing the Ideal. Politics is the game of the possible". Bernard Shaw not very long ago said that good ideals are good but one must not forget that it is often dangerous to be too good. Our foreign policy is in complete opposition to these words of wisdom uttered by two of the world's greatest men."

* W. & S.-Vol-I4(II)-P-1321

21. THE HINDU CODE BILL

The aim of the Bill

".... this bill, the aim of which is to codify the rules of the Hindu Law which are scattered in innumerable decisions of the High Courts and of the Privy Council, which form a bewildering motley to the common man and give rise to constant litigation seeks to codify the law relating to seven different matters. Firstly, it seeks to codify the law relating to the rights of property of a deceased Hindu who has died intestate without making a will, both female and male. Secondly, it prescribes a somewhat altered form of the order of succession among the different heirs to the property of a deceased dying intestate. The next topic it deals with is the law of maintenance, marriage, divorce, adoption, minority and guardianship."

* W. & S.-Vol-I4 (I)-P-5

Authority under which the Code was drafted

" The purpose of the Hindu Code Bill was,..... to codify and modify certain branches of the Hindu Law. Dwelling upon its significance,..... it was beneficial from the point of the country's oneness that the same set of laws should govern the Hindu social and religious life.....that the Hindu laws were being revised not because the Hindus were a weak people to resist its revival but for uniformity's sake. The Hindu Code was a right step towards a Civil Code. The laws should be easily understandable and be applied to all society irrespective of regional barriers. Moreover, a Hindu was free to adopt anybody from the Hindu society and he could make a will denying inheritance to his daughter.

As regards the authority under which the Code was drafted, ...that the modifications proposed were based on the Hindu Shastras and Smritis. The property was governed by Dayabhag system; the child belonged to the caste of the father under Pitrisavarnya; divorce was supported by

Kautilya and Parashara Smriti; and women's rights to property were supported by Brihaspati smriti,"

* W. & S.- Vol-17 (III)-P-396

Points for consideration:

".....the points which arise out of this Bill for consideration and which are new are these: First, the abolition of birth right and to take property by survivorship. The second point that arises for consideration is the giving of half share to the daughter. Thirdly, the conversion of the women's limited estate into an absolute estate. Fourthly, the abolition of caste in the matter of marriage and adoption. Fifthly, the principle of monogamy and sixthly the principle of divorce."

* W. & S.-Vol-l4 (I)-P-11

Origin:

" This Bill had its origin in a legislation which took effect in the year 1937. Ever since that year the provision of this Bill have been bandied from one side to the other, from committee to committee .For instance in the year 1941, the Home Department appointed a Committee to consider some of the difficulties that arose out of the Women's Rights to Property Act of 1937, to report upon the difficulties and to suggest remedies. This Committee which is known as the Rau Committee made its report on the 19th June 1941."

* W. & S.-Vol-14 (I)-P-37

Hindu law is the result of customs

".....so far as Hindus are concerned custom override the text of the 'Smriti'. We all know this, but what are we doing? What are we doing is this. We are shutting down the growth of new customs. We are not recognizing because the rules of law, which are prevalent in Hindu society, are the result of customs. They are born out of custom and we feel that they have now grown so sturdy that we can indeed give them flesh and life, in the body politic by our legislation."

*

W. & S.-Vol-14 (I)-P-40

Society in a transitory stage:

" The Hindu society has always believed that law making is the function either of God or the 'Smriti' and that Hindu society has no right to change the law. That being so the law in Hindu society has remained what it was for generations to come. Society has never accepted its own power and its own responsibility in moulding its social, economic and legal life. It is for the first time that we are persuading Hindu society to take this big step and I have not the slightest doubt in my mind that a society which has bucked up courage enough to tolerate

the large step that we are asking it to take by reason of this bill, will not hesitate to march on the path that remains to be trodden and reach the goal that she has in mind."

* W. & S.-Vol-14 (I)-P-41

" When society is in a transitory stage, leaving the past, going to the future, there are bound to be opposing considerations; one pulling towards the past and one pulling towards the future and the test that we can apply is no other than the test of one's conscience. I have not the slightest doubt in my mind that the provisions of this Bill are in perfect consonance with the conscience of the community, and I have therefore, no hesitation in putting forth this measure although it may be as a matter of fact that a large majority of our countrymen do not accept it."

* W. & S.-Vol-14(I)-P-41-42

Why Hindu laws need to codify and modify

".....looking at the matter as a lawyer I have not the least doubt about it that unless Hindu law is not only codified but also modified so as to bring it in consonance with the provisions of article 15, parts of the Hindu law will be declared to be void by the Judiciary in view of article 13. Does the House desire that the Hindu law should be exposed to judicial scrutiny in terms of article 13 of the Constitution and to have parts of Hindu law declared, bit by bit, as and when matters are taken before the Court, as void or would the House like to take the matter in its own hands and reform the Hindu law so as to make it consistent with article 15 and not to expose it to the danger of having been declared void under article 13? If the House does not wish that the Hindu law be broken bit by bit by the Judiciary but that it becomes an integrated system consistent with our Constitution then my submission is that it will be very wrong for this House to postpone the consideration of this matter."

* W. & S.-Vol-14 (I)-P-772

Dilapidated Hindu system should be repair:

"So far as I am concerned I am a very conservative person. Although some people may not accept that fact. I am indeed very conservative. All I say is that I am a progressive conservative and I should like to tell the House one important fact which I think every one of us must bear in mind. Particularly the conservative members of this House. The great political philosopher Edmund Burke who wrote a big book against the French Revolution because of its radicalism and revolutionism did not forget to tell his own countrymen who were very conservative one very important truth. He said that those who want to conserve must be ready to repair and all I am asking of this House is this; that if you want to maintain the Hindu system, the Hindu culture, the Hindu Society, do not hesitate to repair where repair is necessary. This Bill asks for nothing more than repairing those parts of the Hindu system which are almost become dilapidated."

* W. & S.-Vol-14 (I)-P-283

We are bound to examine every social institution :

" My ideals are derived from the Constitution that we have laid down. The preamble of the Constitution speaks of liberty, equality and fraternity. We are therefore bound to examine every social institution that exists in the country and see whether it stisfies the principles laid down in the Constitution."

* W. & S.-Vol-14 (II)-P-1161

Enslavement of women? - the law to their rescue:

" Has the Hindu society changed its structure as a result of the absorption of the doctrine of their opponents.? Let me develop the position with regard to the Buddha. What did he preach? He preached equality. He was the greatest opponent of Chaturvarna. He was the greatest opponents of belief in the Vedas because he is believed in reason and did not believe in the infallibility of any book. He believed in ahimsa, the Brahmanic society accepted some things. What did they accept ? They accepted the most innocuous dogma of ahimsa. Nobody was prepared to accept and they did not accept- they opposed - his belief in equality. Notwithstanding the fact that it has absorbed bits and bits of something which is of an innocuous character it did not touch the main thing on which they were all united namely to maintain Chaturvarna. That is the reason why notwithstanding this assimilative and adaptive quality, they have remained what they have always been. We have for long number of years waited to see whether Hindu Society would, as a result of the absorption of the doctrines preached by great men who have been born in this country or great men born outside the country, change its social structure. Most of us, speaking for myself, have been completely disappointed. Whatever else Hindu society may adopt, it will never give up its social structure for the enslavement of the Shudra and the enslavement of women. It is for this reason that law must now come to their rescue in order that society may move on."

* W. & S.-Vol-14 (II)-P-1159

The significance of the Hindu Code Bill

" The Hindu Code was the greatest social reform measure ever undertaken by the legislature in this country. No law passed by the Indian legislature in the past or likely to be passed in the future can be compared to it in point of its significance. To leave inequality between class and class, between sex and sex which is the soul of Hindu Society, untouched and to go on passing legislation relating to economic problems is to make a farce of our Constitution and to build a palace on a dung heap. This is the significance I attached to the Hindu Code."

* W. & S.-Vol-14 (II)-P-1325

Opposition by orthodox men and women

" The lack of moral courage and strength of character of the women

in India had come in the way of the Bill (Hindu Code) that had been drafted by him. None of the prominent women leaders were really interested in the social progress of our women,.....

.....I drafted the Bill in conformity with the dictates of the Smritis which allow several rights to women. The Bill was only aimed at removing the obstruction of Law in the social advancement of women. On wealth depends independence and a woman must be very particular to retain her wealth and rights, to help to retain her freedom."

* W. & S.-Vol -17(III)-P-411

22. COMMON CIVIL CODE FOR ALL COMMUNITIES

" It is not so easy to produce a civil code applicable to all in this country irrespective of caste or religion. Obviously it is quite clear we cannot import principles of justice from some country outside India denovo. We do not have a clean slate. We should take the Hindu Law, the Muslim Law, the laws governing the Christians and other communities and other acts and find out a common denominator. We can go to every community and try to tell them to accept the common denominator in the interests of uniformity of law.

But first of all, we should know our own law and what it is. For instance, the Hindu Law is a 'jungle'. It must be codified so that people may have an idea about laws governing them before they can consider having a common code."

* W. & S.-Vol -17(II)-P-380

23. LABOUR AND TRADE UNION

Enemies of labourers are Brahmanism and Capitalism.

" There are in my view two enemies, which the workers of this country have to deal with. The two enemies are Brahmanism and Capitalism. The accusation by our critics arises partly because the critics fail to reckon Brahmanism as an enemy, which the workers have to deal with. ; I do not want to be misunderstood when I say that Brahmanism is an enemy, which must be dealt with. By Brahmanism I do not mean the power, privileges and interests of the Brahmins as a community. That is not the sense in which I am using the word. By Brahmanism I mean the negation of the spirit of liberty, equality and fraternity. In that sense it is rampant in all classes and is not confined to the Brahmins alone though they have been the originators of it."

* S. M.-Vol. 1 - p - 165

Labour must uproot Bramhanism

" The real way to bring about unity is to remove the causes, which make one worker the antagonist of another worker on the ground of race

and religion. The real way to bring about unity is to tell the worker that he is wrong in claiming rights, which he is not prepared to give to other workers. The real way to bring about unity is to tell the worker who makes these social distinctions which result in unfair discrimination are wrong in principle and injurious to the solidarity of workers. In other words we must uproot Bramhanism-this spirit of inequality-from among the workers if the ranks of labour are to be united.....if Bramhanism is admitted to be the root cause of the disorganisation of labour then a serious effort must be made to remove it from the workers. This infection will not go away merely by ignoring it or by remaining silent about it. It must be pursued, dug out and knotched. Then and then only will the way for the unity of workers be made safe.

So long as Bramhanism remains a living force and so long as people continue to stick to it because it confers privileges upon one class and puts handicaps on others, I am afraid, that till then there will be the necessity for those who suffer from these handicaps to organized themselves."

* W. & S.Vol.17(III)-P-180-181

Labour wants liberty, equality, and fraternity.

" Labour wants Government, which is Government by the people in name as well as in fact. Secondly, liberty as conceived by Labour includes the right to equal opportunity and the duty of the State to provide the fullest facilities for growth to every individual according to his needs.

Labour wants equality. By equality Labour means abolition of privileges of every kind in law, in the civil service, in the Army, in taxation, in trade and in industry, in fact the abolition of all processes which lead to inequality.

Labour wants fraternity. By fraternity it means an all-pervading sense of human brotherhood, unifying all classes and all nations, with "peace on earth and goodwill towards man" as its motto."

* W. & S.Vol. 10 - p - 37

Labour and nationalism

" As to nationalism, Labour's attitude is quite clear. Labour is not prepared to make a fetish of nationalism. If nationalism means the worship of the ancient past-the discarding of everything that is not local in origin and colour-then Labour cannot accept nationalism as its creed. Labour cannot allow the living faith of the dead to become the dead faith of the living. Labour will not allow the ever-expanding spirit of many to be strangled by the hand of the past, which has no meaning for the present and no hope for the future; nor will it allow it to be cramped in a narrow jacket of local particularism. Labour must constantly insist upon renovating the life of the people by being ever ready to borrow in order to repair, transform and recreate the body politic. If nationalism stands in the way of this rebuilding and reshaping of life, then Labour must deny nationalism.

.....Labour is interested in nationalism only because the wheels of

democracy-such as representative Parliaments, responsible Executive, Constitutional conventions, etc.—work better in a community united by national sentiments. **Nationalism to Labour is only a means to an end.** It is not an end in itself to which Labour can agree to sacrifice what it regards as the most essential principles of life."

* W. & S.Vol-10-P-40-41

"The third besetting sin of the labouring classes is the easy way which they are lead away by an appeal to Nationalism. The working classes who are beggared in every way and who have very little to spare, often sacrifice their all to the so-called cause of Nationalism. They have never cared to enquire whether the nationalism for which they are to make their offerings will, when established, give them social and economic equality. More often than not, the free independent national state which emerges from a successful nationalism and which reared on their sacrifices turns to be the enemy of the working class under the hegemony of their masters. This is the worst kind of exploitation that labour has allowed itself to be subjected to."

* W. & S.Vol-10-P-110-111

Labour should discard mere establishment of Trade Unions

" The first thing to do is to discard mere establishment of Trade Unions as the final aim and object of labour in India. It must declare that its aim is to put Labour in change of Government. For this, it must organize a Labour Party as a political party. Such a Party will no doubt cover Trade Unions in its organisations. But it must be free from the narrow and cramping vision of trade unionism. It must equally disassociate itself from communal or capitalistic political parties such as the Hindu Mahasabha or the Congress."

* S. M.-Vol. 1 - p - 274

Labour should develop ambition to capture government

" The Labouring Classes have failed to acquaint itself with literature dealing with the government of mankind. Everyone from the Labouring Classes should be acquainted with Rousseau's Social contract, Marx's Communist Manifesto, Pope Leo XIII's Encyclical on the conditions of Labour and John Stuart Mill on Liberty, to mention only four of the basic programmatic documents on social and governmental organization of modern times. But the Labouring classes will not give them the attention they deserve. Instead labour has taken delight reading false and fabulous stories of ancient kings and queens and has become addicted to it.

There is another and a bigger crime which they have committed against themselves. They have developed no ambition to capture government, and are not even convinced of the necessity of controlling government as a necessary means of safeguarding their interest. Indeed, they are not even interested in government. Of all the tragedies, which have beset mankind, this is the biggest and the most lamentable one."

* W. & S.Vol-10-P-110

Labour should have their own representatives

" You must never forget that the remedy for the grievances that I have just mentioned lies in bringing about properly effective legislation. A measure such as that of a strike is not the sure means of removing your grievance. I do not grudge the right of the aggrieved to resort to strike. But that is not a weapon which they can every now and then use. How to get such legislation on the status book is again a question, which you have to solve. Unless you have your own representatives in the Legislative Councils, you will not be able to do it. You must find men who will always promote your interests."

* S. M.-Vol-1-P-126

Three different objects

".....a trade union may have three different purposes or three different objects. A trade union may have purely what are called trade union purposes, that is to say, purposes connected with the promotion of their particular interests as workers, wages, hours of work, promotions in industry and so on. Those are called purely trade union objects. In addition to that a trade union may have what are called social objects conferring certain benefits, giving old age pension, giving unemployment benefit to these members, providing pensions for their widows. These are recognized in England as social purposes. In addition to that a trade union may have a political purpose. A purpose, the object of which is to promote a particular line of politics, which the union thinks is best suited for the protection of its economic and its social position. "

* W. & S.-Vol-2-P225

Trade Unionism aims at controlling government

".....it would be a great mistake to suppose that Trade Unions are a panacea for all the ills of labour. Trade Unions, even if they are powerful, are not strong enough to compel capitalists to run capitalism better. Trade Unions would be much more effective if they had behind them a labour Government to rely on. Control of Government must be the target for Labour to aim at. Unless Trade Unionism aims at controlling government trade unions will do very little good to the workers and will be a source of perpetual squables among Trade Union Leaders."

* W &. S.-Vol-10-P-110

24. THE NEED FOR A SECOND CAPITAL

"Delhi is most inconvenient to the people of the South. They suffer the most from cold as well as distance. Even the Northern people suffer in the summer months. They do not complain because they are nearer home and they are nearer the seat of power. Second is the feeling of the Southern people and the third is the consideration of Defence. The feeling of the

Southern people is that the Capital of their country is far away from them and that they are being ruled by the people of Northern India. The third consideration is of course more important. It is that Delhi is a vulnerable place. It is within bombing distance of the neighbouring countries. Although India is trying to live in peace with its neighbours it cannot be assumed that India will not have to face war sometime or other and if war comes, the Government of India will have to leave Delhi and find another place for the location."

* W. & S.-Vol-1-P-170

25. COMMUNISM

" By scientific Socialism what Karl Marx meant was that his brand of Socialism was inevitable and inescapable and that society was moving towards it and that nothing could prevent its march. It is to prove this contention of his that Marx principally laboured.

Marx's contention rested on the following thesis. They were:

i. That the purpose of philosophy is to reconstruct the world and not to explain the origin of the universe.

ii. That the forces which shapes the course of history are primarily economic.

iii. That the society is divided into two classes, owners and workers.

iv. That there is always a class conflict going on between the two classes.

v. That the workers are exploited by the owners who misappropriate the surplus value, which is the result of the worker's labour.

vi. That this exploitation can be put an end to by nationalization of the instruments of production i.e. abolition of private property.

vii. That this exploitation is leading to greater and greater impoverishment of the workers.

viii. That this going impoverishment of the workers is resulting in a revolutionary spirit among the workers and the conversion of the class conflict into a class struggle.

ix. That as the workers outnumber the owners, the workers are bound to capture the State and establish their rule which he called the dictatorship of the proletariat.

x. These factors are irresistible and therefore Socialism is inevitable.

I hope I have reported correctly the propositions which formed the original basis of Marxian Socialism."

* W. & S.Vol.3-P-443

" Buddha established Communism so far as the Sangha was

concerned without dictatorship. It may be that it was a communism on a very small scale but it was communism without dictatorship a miracle, which Lenin failed to do."

* W. & S.Vol.3-P-461

26. SOCIALISM

".....Socialist contention that equalization of property is the only real reform and that it must precede every thing else. However, what I like to ask the Socialists is this? Can you have economic reform without first bringing about a reform of the Social order? The Socialists of India do not seem to have considered this question. I do not wish to do them an injustice. I give below a quotation from a letter, which a prominent Socialist wrote a few days ago to a friend of mine in which he said, "I do not believe that we can build up a free society in India so long as there is a trace of this ill treatment and suppression of one class by another believing as I do in a Socialist ideal, inevitably I believe in perfect equality in the treatment of various classes and groups. I think that Socialism offers the only true remedy for this as well as other problems". Now the question that I like to ask is: is it enough for a Socialist to say, " I believe in perfect equality in the treatment of the various classes? To say that such a belief is enough is to disclose a complete lack of understanding of what is involved in Socialism. If Socialism is a practical programmes and is not merely an ideal, distant and for off, the question for a Socialist is not whether he believes in equality. The question for him is whether he minds one class ill-treating and suppressing another class as a matter of system, as a matter of principle and thus allow tyranny and oppression to continue to divide one class from another. Let me analyse the factors that are involved in the realization of Socialism in order to explain fully my point. Now it is obvious that the economic reform contemplated by the Socialists cannot come about unless there is a revolution resulting in the seizure of power. That seizure of power must be by a proletariat. The first question I ask is "will the proletariats of India combine to bring about this revolution? What will move men to such an action? It seems to me that other things being equal the only thing that will move one man to take such an action is the feeling that other man with whom he is acting are actuated by feeling of equality and fraternity and above all of justice. Men will not join in a revolution for the equalization of property unless they know that after the revolution is achieved they will be treated equally and that there will be no discrimination of caste and creed. The assurance of a Socialist leading the revolution that he does not believe in caste. I am sure, will not suffice. The assurance must be the assurance proceeding from much deeper foundation, namely, the mental attitude of the compatriots, towards one another in their spirit of personal equality and fraternity. Can it be said that the proletariat of India, poor as it is, recognizes no distinctions except that of the rich and poor. Can it be said that the poor in India recognise no

such distinctions of caste or creed, high or low? If the fact is that they do, what unity of front can be expected from such a proletariat in its action against the rich? How can there be a revolution if the proletariat cannot present a united front? Suppose for the sake of argument that by some freak of fortune a revolution does take place and the Socialists come in power, will they not have to deal with the problems created by the particular social order prevalent in India? I can't see how a Socialist state in India can function for a second without having to grapple with the problems created by the prejudices which make Indian people observe the distinctions of high and low, clean and unclean. If Socialists are not to be content with the mouthing of fine phrases, if the Socialists wish to make Socialism a definite reality then they must recognize that the problem of social reform is fundamental and that for them there is no escape from it. That the social order prevalent in India is a matter which a Socialist must deal with, that unless he does so he cannot achieve his revolution and that if he does achieve it as a result of good fortune he will have to grapple with it if he wishes to realize his ideal, is a proposition which in my opinion is incontrovertible. He will be compelled to take account of caste after revolution if he does not take account of it before revolution. This is only another way of saying that turn in any direction you like, caste is the monster that crosses your path. You cannot have political reform, you cannot have economic reform unless you kill this monster."

* W. & S.Vol.1-P-46

27. GANDHISM

" The ideas which go to make up Gandhism are just primitive. It is a return to nature, to animal life. The only merit is their simplicity. As there is always a large corps of simple people who are attracted by them, such simple ideas do not die, and there is always some simpleton to preach them. There is, however, no doubt that the practical instincts of men, which seldom go wrong, have found them unfruitful and which society in search of progress has thought it best to reject.

The economics of Gandhism are hopelessly fallacious. The fact that machinery and modern civilization have produced many evils may be admitted. But these evils are no argument against them. For the evils are not due to the machinery and modern civilization. They are due to wrong social organization, which has made private property and pursuit of personal gain matters of absolute sanctity. If machinery and civilization have not benefited everybody the remedy is not to condemn machinery and civilization but to alter the organization of society so that the benefits will not be usurped by the few but will a accrue to all."

* W. & S.Vol.9-P-283

"... a democratic society must assure a life of leisure and culture to each one of its citizens. If the above analysis is correct then the slogan of

a democratic society must be machinery, and more machinery, civilization and more civilization. Under Gandhism the common man must keep on toiling ceaselessly for a pittance and remain a brute. In short, Gandhism with its call of back to nature means back to nakedness, back to squalor, back to poverty and back to ignorance for the vast mass of the people."

* W. & S.Vol.9-P-284

" Gandhism insists upon class structure. It regards the class structure of society and also the income structure as sacrosanct with the consequent distinctions of rich and poor, high and low, owners and workers as permanent parts of social organization. From the point of view of social consequences nothing can be more pernicious. physchologically class structure sets in motion influences, which are harmful to both the classes. There is no common plane on which the privileged and the subject classes can meet. There is no endosmosis, no give and take of life's hopes and experiences. The social and moral evils of this separation to the subject class are of course real and obvious. It educates them into slaves and creates the entire physchologically complex, which follows from a slave mentality. But those affecting the privileged class, though less material and less perceptible are equally real. The isolation and exclusiveness following upon the class structure creates in the privileged classes the anti- social spirit of a gang. It feels it has interests of its own. Which it makes its prevailing purpose to protect against everybody even against the interests of the state. It makes their culture sterile, their art showy, their wealth luminous and their manners fastidious. Practically speaking in a class structure there is on the one hand, tyranny, vanity, pride, arrogance, greed, selfishness and on the other insecurity, poverty, degradation, loss of liberty, self reliance, independence, dignity and self respect. Democratic society cannot be indifferent to such consequences."

* W. & S.Vol.9-P-285

" The social ideal of Gandhism is either caste or varna. Though it may be difficult to say which, there can be no doubt that the social ideal of Gandhism is not democracy. For whether one takes for comparison caste or Varna both are fundamentally opposed to democracy. It would have been something if the defence of caste system, which Gandhism offers, was strong and honest. But his defence of the caste system is the most insensible piece of rhetoric one can think of. Examine Mr. Gandhi's arguments in support of caste and it will be found that every one of them is specious if not puerile."

* W. & S.Vol.9-P-286

" Gandhism is in no sense a revolutionary creed. It is conservatism in excelsis. So far as India is concerned, it is reactionary creed blazoning on its banner the call of return to Antiquity. Gandhism aims at the resuscitation and re-animation of India's dread, dying past."

* W. & S.Vol.9-P-290

" Gandhism is simply another form of Sanatanism, which is the ancient name for militant orthodox Hinduism. What is there in Gandhism which is not to be found in orthodox Hinduism.? There is caste in Hinduism, there is the caste in Gandhism. Hinduism believes in the law of hereditary profession, so does Gandhism. Hinduism enjoins cow-worship, so does Gandhism. Hinduism upholds the law of karma, predestination of man's condition in this world, so does Gandhism. Hinduism accepts the authority of the shastras, so does Gandhism. Hinduism believes in the avatars or incarnations of God, so does Gandhism. Hinduism believes in idols, so does Gandhism. All that Gandhism has done is to find a philosophic justification for Hinduism and its dogmas. Hinduism is bald in the sense that it is just a set of rules, which bear on their face, and the appearance of a crude and cruel system. Gandhism supplies the philosophy, which smoothens its surface and gives it the appearance of decency and respectability and so alters it and embellishes it as to make it even attractive. What philosophy does Gandhism propound to cover the nudity of Hinduism.?"

* W. & S.Vol.9-P-295-296

28. COMMUNALISM

" Unfortunately for the minorities in India, Indian Nationalism has developed a new doctrine which may be called the Divine Right of the Majority to rule the minorities according to the wishes of the majority. Any claim for the sharing of power by the minority is called communalism while the monopolizing of the whole power by the majority is called Nationalism. Guided by such a political philosophy the majority is not prepared to allow the minority to share political power nor is it willing to respect any convention made in that behalf...."

* W. & S.Vol.1-P-427

" In India the majority is a communal majority. No matter what social and political programme it may have the majority will retain its character of being a communal majority. Nothing can alter this fact. Given this fact it is clear that if the British system was copied it would result in permanently vesting Executive power in a communal majority."

* W. & S.-Vol-1-P-413

" In India, the majority is not a political majority. In India, the majority is borned, it is not made. That is the difference between a communal majority and a political majority. A political majority is not a fixed or a permanent majority. It is a majority, which is always made, unmade, and remade. A communal majority is a permanent majority fixed in its attitude. One can dstroy it but one cannot transform it. If there is so much objections to a political majority, how very fatal must be the objection to a communal majority ?"

* W. & S. -Vol-1-P-377

1. RELIGION

Defined

"That which governs people is Religion."

* W. & S.-Vol-17 (III)-P-121

Philosophy and religion

I have not got a clear idea of what is meant by philosophy of Religion. This is probably due to two facts. In the first place while religion is something definite, there is nothing definite as to what is to be included in the term philosophy. In the second place philosophy and religion have been adversaries if not actual antagonists as may be seen from the story of the philosopher and the theologian.

* W. & S. -Vol-3-P-3

To me there is no philosophy of religion, there is a philosophy of a Religion.

* W. & S. -Vol-3-P-8

Religion must mainly be a matter of principles only. It cannot be a matter of rules. The moment it degenerates into rules it ceases to be religion, as it kills responsibility, which is the essence of a truly religious act.

* W. & S. -Vol-1-P-75

Relign and the creed of the Buddha

---

1. Religion is necessary for a free society.
2. Not every religion is worth having.
3. Religion must relate to facts of life and not to theories and speculations about God, or soul or Heaven or Earth.
4. It is wrong to make God the centre of religion.
5. It is wrong to make salvation of the soul as the centre of religion.
6. It is wrong to make animal sacrifices to be the centre of religion.
7. Real religion lives in the heart of man and not in the Shastras.
8. Man and mortality must be the centre of religion. If not religion is a cruel superstition.

---

10. The function of religion is to reconstruct the world and to make it happy and not to explain its origin or its end.

* W. & S. -Vol-3-P-442

Religion manifests in three ways

Religion as a basis of rules of precedence manifests itself in three ways. Firstly through religious ceremonies, secondly through incantation that accompany the religious ceremonies and thirdly through the position of the priest.

* W. & S. -Vol-5-P-161

Law and religion

Law and Religion are two forces, which govern the conduct of man. At times, they act as handmaids to each other. At other times, they act as checks and counter - check of the two forces, Law is personal while religion is impersonal. Law being personal it is capable of being unjust and inequities. But religion being impersonal, it can be impartial. If religion remains impartial, it is capable of defeating the inequity committed by law.

* W. & S. -Vol-5-P-93

Religion and communities

Religion can help to produce Justice within a community. Religion cannot produce Justice between communities. At any rate, religion has failed to produce justice between Negroes and Whites, in the United States. It has failed to produce justice between Germans and French and between them and the other nations. The call of nation and the call of community has proved more powerful than the call of religion for justice.

* W. & S. -Vol-5-P-398

Religion is essential to society

" I believe that religion is necessary for the mankind. When religion ends the society would perish too. After all no Government can safeguard and discipline mankind as niti or Dharma can ".....

* S.M. -Vol-1-P-367

" Whatever may be the metaphysical basis of a religion, those religious principles upon which depend the ethical system and the social practices of a people must be considered to be the principle element of that religion. Though Hinduism is based on the conception of absolute Brahma the practices of the Hindu community as a whole are founded on the doctrines of inequality as pronounced in 'Manusmiriti'. Some people think that religion is not essential to society. I do not hold this view. I consider the foundation of religion to be essential to the life and practices of society.

* S.M. -Vol-1-P-138

Religion undergone through four stages

Religion has undergone four stages, in its original form religion was matter of personal salvation of man's soul, in its second stage it meant the maintaince of human brotherhood based on moral rules governing

the conduct of human being towards each other, in its third stage, men worshiped those personalities who satisfied the wants of their lives and in its last stage it worshipped a person who performed miracles.

* C.S. page 76

Four characteristics of religion:

1. The society must have either the sanction of law or the sanction of morality to hold it together without either the society is sure to go to pieces.
2. Religion if it is to function must be in accord with reason which is another name for science.
3. It is not enough for religion to consist of a moral code but its moral code must recognise the fundamental tenets of liberty equality and fraternity.
4. Religion must not sanctify or ennoble poverty "

Buddhism fulfilled these requirements and so among the existing religions Buddhism was the only religion, which the world could have.

* L & M.P. 421

Religion and slavery

The religion, which discriminates between two followers, is partial.... "and the religion, which treats crores of its adherents worse than dogs and criminals and inflicts upon them insufferable disabilities, is no religion at all. Religion is not the appellation for such an unjust order. Religion and slavery are incompatible

* L & M. page 92

Religion is not individual, private and personal

.....it is an error to look upon religion as a matter, which is individual, private and personal. Indeed as will be seen from what follows, religion becomes a source of positive mischief, if not danger when it remains individual, private and personal. Equally mistaken is the view that religion is the flowering of special religious instinct inherent in the nature of the individual. The correct view is that religion like language is social for the reason that either is essential for social life and the individual has to have it because without it he cannot participate in the life of the society.

* W. & S. -Vol-5-P-409

Are all religions same or good?

..... to hold that all religions are true and good is to cherish a belief which is positively and demonstrably wrong ..... The most harmful one is the one I have mentioned namely that all religion are equally good and that there is no necessity of discriminating between them. Nothing can be a greater error than this. Religion is an institution or an influence

and like all social influences and institutions, it may help or it may harm a society, which is in its grip.

* W. & S. -Vol-3-P-24

Religions may be alike in that they all teach that the meaning of life is to be found in the pursuit of "good" But religions are not alike in their answers to the question ' What is good'? In this they certainly differ. One religion holds that brotherhood is good, another caste and untouchability is good.

There is another respect in which all religions are not alike. Besides being an authority, which defines what is good, religion is a motive force for the promotion and spread of the good. Are all religions, agreed in the means and methods they advocate for the promotion and spread of good? .....

.....there are permanent differences in the methods of promoting good as they conceive it. Are there not religions, which advocate violence? Are there not religions, which advocates non-violence? Given these facts how can it be said that all religions are the same and there is no reason to prefer one to the other.

* W. & S. -Vol-5-P-405-406

Why does the religion decline? Nagsena answered and gave three reasons for it.

The first reason is that a particular religion itself is immature. The basic principles of that religion have no depth. It becomes a temporal religion and such religion survives only for short period.

The second reason is that, if there are no learned preachers in that religion, then the religion declines. Learned persons should preach the philosophy of the religion. If the preachers of the religion are not prepared to hold debate with the opponents then the religion declines.

And the third reason is that, the religion and the religious principles are only for learned persons. For common people there are temples and shrines. They go there and worship supernatural power.

* W. & S.-Vol-17 (III)-P-542

2. DHAMMA

WHAT IS DHAMMA ?

1. To maintain purity of Life is Dhamma.
2. To reach perfection in Life is Dhamma.
3. To Live in Nibbana is Dhamma.
4. To give up Craving is Dhamma.
5. To believe that all compound things are impermanent is Dhamma
6. To believe that Karma is the instrument of moral order is Dhamma.

* W. & S. - Vol -11-P-227

WHAT IS NOT DHAMMA

1. Belief in the supernatural is not Dhamma.
2. Belief in Ishwara (God) is not essentially part of Dhamma.
3. Dhamma based on union with Brahma is a false Dhamma.
4. Belief in Soul is not Dhamma.
5. Belief in sacrifices is not Dhamma.
6. Belief based on speculations is not Dhamma.
7. Reading Books of Dhamma is not Dhamma.
8. Belief in the Infallibility of Books of Dhamma is not Dhamma.

* W. & S. - Vol -11-P-247

WHAT IS SADDHAMMA

Section - I - the Function of Saddhamma.

1. To cleanse the mind of its impurities.
2. To make the world a Kingdom of Righteousness.

Section II - Dhamma to be Saddhamma must promote Pradnya.

1. Dhamma is Saddhamma when it makes learning open to all.
2. Dhamma is Saddhamma when it teaches that mere learning is not enough. It may lead to pedantry.
3. Dhamma is Saddhamma when it teaches that what is needed is Pradnya.

Section III- Dhamma to be Saddhamma must promote Mairti.

1. Dhamma is Saddhamma only when it teaches that mere Pradnya is not enough. It must be accompanied by Sila.
2. Dhamma is Saddhamma only when it teaches that besides Pradnya and Sila what is necessary is Karuna.
3. Dhamma is Saddhamma only when it teaches that more than Karuna what is necessary is Maitri.

Section IV - Dhamma to be Saddhamma must pull down all social barriers.

1. Dhamma to be Saddhamma must break down barriers between man and man.
2. Dhamma to be Saddhamma must teach that worth and not birth is the measure of man.
3. Dhamma to be Saddhamma must promote equality between man and man.

* W. & S. - Vol - 11- P-279

Purpose of Dhamma

The world is full of suffering and that how to remove this suffering from the world is the only purpose of Dhamma. Nothing else is Dhamma.

The recognition of the existence of suffering and to show the way to remove suffering is the foundation and basis of his Dhamma.

* W. & S. -Vol-11- p- 121

Center of Dhamma

..... his path which is his Dhamma (religion) had nothing to di with God and Soul. His Dhamma had nothing to do with life after death. Nor has his Dhamma any concern with rituals and cersmonies.

The centre of his Dhamma is man and the relation of man to man in his life on earth.

* W. & S-Vol-11-P-121

The Path of Dhamma

The path of purity

"..... according to His (Buddha) Dhamma if every person followed (1) the path of purity (2) the path of Righteousness and (3) path of Virtue, it would bring about the end of all suffering.

..... The Path of Purity ..... teaches that a person who wishes to be good must recognize some principles as principles of life.

According to my path of purity the principles of life recognised by it are : Not to injure or kill : Not to steal or appropriate to oneself anything which belongs to another : Not to speak untruth : Not to indulge in lust. Not to indulge in intoxicating drinks.

The recognition of these principles, I say, is most essential for every man. For every man must have a standard by which to judge whatever he does. And these principles according to my teachings constitute the standard.

The Path of Righteousness

Mind is the only insrument through which light can come to man. .....

This is because it is possible to train the mind in whatever dirctions one chooses. It is mind that makes us to be prisoners in the house of life, and it is mind that keeps us so.

But what mind has done, that mind can undo. If it has brought man to thralldom, it can also, when rightly dircted, bring him to liberty.

This is what Samma Ditti can do.

What is the end of Samma Ditti ? asked the Parivrajakas. The End of Samma Ditti ,replied the Buddha , is the destruction of Avijja(Nescience). It is opposed to Miccha Ditti.

And Avijja means the failure to understand the noble truths, of the existence of suffering and the removal of suffering. .....

There are, ye Parivrajakas, five fetters or hindrances which come in the way of a person tryhing to achieve Samma Ditti, Samma Sankappo, Samma Vaćca, Sammma kamanto, Samma Ajeevo, Samma Vyayamo and Samma Satti.

These five hindrances are covetousness, ill will sloth and torpor, doubt and indecision. It is, therefore necessary to overcome these hindrances which are really fetters and the means to overcome them is through Samadhi. But know ye Parivrajakas, Samma Samadhi is not the same as Samadhi. It is quite different.

Samadhi is mere concentration. No doubt it leads to Dhyanic states which are self-induced, holding the five hindrances in suspence.

But these Dhyana states are temporary. Consequently the suspension of the hindrances is also temporary. What is necessary is a permanent trun to the mind. Such a permanent turn can be achieved only by Samma Sammadhi.

Mere Samadhi is negative inasmuch as it leads to temporary suspension of the hindrances. In it there is no training to the mind. Samma Samadhi is positive . It trains the mind to concentrate and to think of some Kusala Kamma (Good Deeds and Thoughts) during concentration and thereby eliminate the tendency of the mind to be drawn towards Akusala Kamma (Bad Deeds and Bad Thoughts) arising from the hindrances.

Samma Samadhi gives a habit to the mind to think of good and always to think of good. Samma Samadhi gives the mind the necessary motive power to do good.

The Path of Virtue

.....the path of virtue meant the observance of the virtues called : (1) Sila (2) Dana (3) Uppekha (4) Nekkhama (5) Virya (6) Khanti (7) Succa (8) Adhithana (9) Karuna and (10) Maitri.

* W. & S-Vol-11-P-122-127

Dhamma and Morality

1. What is the place of morality in Dhamma ?
2. The simple answer is Morality is Dhamma and Dhamma is Morality.
3. In other words, in Dhamma Morality takes place of God although there is no God in Dhamma.
4. In Dhamma there is no place for prayers, pilgrimages, rituals, ceremonies or Sacrifices.
5. Morality is the essence of Dhamma. Without it there is no Dhamma.
6. Morality in Dhamma arises from the direct necessity for man to love man.
7. It does not require the sanction of God. It is not to please God that man has to be moral. It is for his own good that man has to love man.

* W.& S.- Vol - 11-P-322-323.

Prajna and Karuna

The path of virtue must, therefore, be subject to test of Pradnya, which is another name for understanding and intelligence.

... ..without Pradnya, Dana may have a demoralizing effect. There must be Karuna. But without Pradnya, Karuna may end in supporting evil. Every act of Paramita must be tested by Pradnya Paramita, which is another name for wisdom.

* W. & S-Vol-11-P-130

Karuna is only love for human beings. Buddha went beyond and taught Maitri, Maitri is love for living beings.

* W. & S. -Vol-11-P-297

The Dhamma is its own successor

"The Dhamma must be its own successor."

" The principle must live by itself, and not by the authority of man.

" If principle needs the authority of man it is no principle.

" If every time it becomes necessary to invoke the name of the founder to enforce the authority of Dhamma then it is no Dhamma.

* W. & S. -Vol-11-P-216- 217

The Dhamma - requires a life of righteousness

" The Dhamma of the Tathagata does not require a man to go into homelessness or to resign the world unless he feels called upon to do so; what the Dhamma of the Tathagata requires is for every man to free himself from the illusion of self, to clean his heart to give up his thirst for pleasure, and lead a life of righteousness.

* W. & S-Vol-11-P-149

3. RELIGION AND DHAMMA-A COMPARISION

What is Religion ?

1. The word religion is an indefinite word with no fixed meaning.
2. It is one word with many meanings.
3. This is because religion has passed throught many stages. The concept at each stage is called Religion though the concept at one stage has not had the same meaning which it had at the preceding stage or is likely to have at the succeeding stage.
4. The conception of religion was never fixded.
5. It has varied from time to time.
6. Because most of the phenomena such as lightning, rain and floods, the occurrence of which the primitive man could not explain, any weird performance done to control the phenomenon was called magic.

Religion therefore came to be identified with magic.

7. Then came the second stage in the evolution of religion. In this stage religion came to be identified with beliefs, rituals, ceremonies, prayers and sacrifices.
8. But this conception of religion is derivative.
9. The pivotal point in religion starts with the belief that there exists some power which causes these phenomena which primitive man did not know and could not understand. Magic lost its place at this stage.
10. This power was originally malevolent. But later it was felt that it could also be benevolent.
11. Beliefs , rites, ceremonies and sacrifices were necessary both to propitiate a benevolent power and also to conciliate an angry power.
12. Later that power was called God or the Creator.
13. Then came the third stage that it is this God who created this world and also man.
14. This was followed by the belief that man has a soul is eternal and is answerable to God for man's actions in the world.
15. This is, in short, the evolution of the concept of Religion.
16. This is what Religion has come to be and this is what it connotes - belief in God, belief in soul, worship of Good, curing of the erring soul, propitiating God by prayers, ceremonies, sacrifices etc.

How Dhamma Differs From Religion

1. What the Buddha calls Dhamma differs fundamentally from what is called Religion.
2. What the Buddha calls Dhamma is analogous to what the European theologians call Religion

---

6. Instead of entering into this controversy it is better to proceed to give an idea of Dhamma and show how it differs from Religion.
7. Religion, it is said, is personal and one must keep it to oneself. One must not let it play its part in public life.
8. Contrary to this, Dhamma is social. It Is fundamentally and essentially so.
9. Dhamma is righteousness, which means right relation between man and man in all spheres of life.
10. From this it is evident that one man if he is alone does not need Dhamma.
11. But when there are two men living in relation to each other they must find a place for Dhamma whether they like it or not. Neighter can escape it.
12. In other words Society cannot do without Dhamma.....

21. Now what is Dhamma ? and why is Dhamma necessary ? According to the Buddha, Dhamma consists of Prajna and Karuna.

22. What is Prajna ? And why Prajna ? Prajna is understanding . The Buddha made Prajna one of the two cornerstones of his Dhamma because he did not wish to leave any room for superstition.

23. What is Karuna ? And why Karuna ? Kauna is love. Because without it society can neither live nor grow, that is why the Buddha made it the second cornerstone of his Dhamma.

24. Such is the definition of the Buddha's Dhamma.

25. How different is this definition of Dhamma from that of Religion.

---

29. A unique amalgam of Prajna and Karuna is the Dhamma of the Buddha.

30. Such is the difference between Religion and Dahamma.

* W. & S-Vo-11-P-315- 317

The purpose of Religion is to explain the origin of the world. The purpose of Dhamma is to reconstruct the world.

* W. & S-Vo-11-P-322

4. BUDDHISM

Buddhism - A revolution

" Buddhism was revolution. It was as great a revolution as the French Revolution. Though it began as a Religious Revolution, it became more than Religious Revolution. It became a social and political revolution."

* W.&S.Vol-3-P-153

The Buddhist were revolutionaries

".....there has in ancient India, a great struggle between Buddhism and Brahminism. The history of India is nothing if it is not one of great struggle. It is not even a struggle as has been repeated by professors of philosophy but a quarrel over some creed. It was not only a revolution in doctrine but a revolution in the political and social philosophy. The quarrel between Buddhism and Brahminism was on this one issue and that was "What is truth? What can be accepted as truth ?" .....**The Buddhists were revolutionaries and Brahmins were counter revolutionaries. That was the difference between Buddhism and Brahminism."**

* W. & S.-Vol-17(III)-P-335

Buddhism paved way for establishment of democracy

".....equality is the main feature of Buddhism. The religion of the

Buddha gives freedom of thought and freedom of self-development to all. To abjure violence is another essential teaching of Buddhism. It has never taught to achieve salvation by sacrificing animals or any living being to propitiate Gods. I would say that the rise of Buddhism in India was as significant as the French Revolution . Prior to the advent of Biddhuism , it was impossible to even think that a Shudra would get throne. History of India reveals that after the emergence of Buddhism, Shudras are seen getting thrones. Verily, Buddhism paved way for establishment of democracy and socialistic pattern of society in India."

* W. & S.-Vol-17(III)-P-407

Buddhism was the religion of the majority of the people

" Buddhism was at one time the religion of the majority of the people of India. It continued to be the religion of the masses for hundreds of years. It attacked Brahmanism on all sides as no religion had done before, Brahmanism was on the wane and if not on the wane it was certainly on the defensive. As a result of the spread of Buddhism, the Brahmins had lost all power and prestige at the Royal Court and among the people. They were smarting under the defeat they had suffered at the hands of Buddhism and were making all possible efforts to regain their power and prestige. Buddhism had made so deep an impression on the minds of the masses and had taken such a hold of them that it was absolutely impossible for the Brahmins to fight the Buddhists except by accepting their ways and; means and practicing the Buddhist creed in its extreme form. After the death of Buddha his followers started setting up the images of the Buddha and building stupas. The Brahmins followed it. They, in their turn, built temples and installed in them images of Shiva, Vishnu and Ram and Krishna etc.— all with the object of drawing away the crowd that was attracted by the image worship; of Buddha. That is how temples and images which had no place in Brahmanism came into Hinduism. The Buddhists rejected the Brahmanic religion, which consisted of Yajna and animal sacrifice, particularly of the cow. The objection to the sacrifice of the cow had taken a strong hold of the minds of the masses especially as they were an agricultural population and the cow was a very useful animal. The Brahmins in all probability had come to be hated as the killer of cows....."

* W. & S.-Vol-7-P-345-346

"Buddhism swept the land as no physical conqueror had ever done in India's history. Within a few generations almost the entire country especially the masses and the trading classes went over to Buddhism."

* S.M. -Vol-1-P-213

Buddhism brought about a great social change

" In the declining days of the Vedic Regime, the Shudras as well as women had come to occupy a very low position. The rising tide of Buddhism had brought about a great change in the status of both. To put it briefly a

Shudra under the Buddhist regime could acquire property, learning and could even become a king. Nay he could even rise to the highest rung of; the social ladder occupied by the Brahmin in the Vedic regime. The Buddhist order of Bhikshus was counterpart of the Vedic order of Brahmins. The two orders, each within its own religious system were on a par in the matter of status and dignity. The Shudras could never aspire to be a Brahmin in the Vedic regime but he could become a Bhikshu and occupy the same status and dignity, as did the Brahmin. For, while the Vedic order of Brahmins was closed to the Shudras the Buddhist order of Bhikshus was open to him and many Shudras who could not become Brahmins under the Vedic regime had become their peers by becoming Bhikshus under Buddhism. Similar change is noticeable in the case of women. Under the Buddhist regime she became a free person. Marriage did not make her a slave. For marriage under the Buddhist rule was a contract. Under the Buddhist Regime she could acquire property, she could acquire learning and what was unique, she could become member of the Buddhist order of Nuns and reach the same status and dignity as a Brahmin. The elevation of the status of the Shudras and women was so much the result of the gospel of Buddhism that Buddhism was called by its enemies as the Shudra's religion (i.e. the religion of the low classes)."

* W. & S.-Vol-3-P-309,310

.....there was one aspect in which Brahmanism suffered in public esteem as compared to Buddhism. That was the practice of animal sacrifice which was the essence of Brahmanism and to which Buddhism was deadly opposed. That in an agricultural population there should be respect for Buddhism and revulsion against Brahmanism which involved slaughter of animals including cows and bullocks is only natural.

* W. & S. -Vol-7-P-346

CAUSES FOR THE DOWNFALL

1. ATTACK OF BRAHMANISM —A COUNTER REVOLUTION

I. The murder of Buddhist king by Pusyamitra

" The murder of Brihadratha Maurya by Pushyamitra has unfortunately passed unnoticed. At any rate it has not received the attention it deserves. It is treated by historians as an ordinary incident between two individuals as though its origin lay in some personal quarrel between the two. Having regard to its consequences it was an epoch - making event. Its significance cannot be measured by treating it as a change of dynasty- the Sungas succeeding the Mauryas. It was a political revolution as great as the French Revolution, if not greater. It was a revolution - a bloody revolution engineered by the Brahmins to over throw the rule of the Buddhist Kings."

* W. & S.-Vol-7- P- 373

"——the object of the Regicide by Pushyamitra was to destroy

Buddhism as a state religion and to make the Brahmins the sovereign rulers of India so that with the political power of the state behind it Brahminism may triumph over Buddhism."

* W. & S. -Vol-3-P-269

" Pushyamitra's revolution was a political revolution engineered by the Brahmins to overthrow Buddhism."

* W. & S. -Vol-3-P-275

II. Brahmanism acquired political power and annihilated Buddhism

" If Hindu India was invaded by the Muslim invaders so was Buddhist India invaded by Brahmanic invaders. The Muslim invasions of Hindu India and the Brahmanic invasions of Buddhist India have many similarities. The Musalman invaders of Hindu India fought among themselves for their dynastic ambitions. The Arabs, Turks, Mongols and Afghans fought for supremacy among themselves. But they had one thing in common - namely the mission to destroy idolatry. Similarly the Brahmanic invaders of Buddhist India fought among themselves for their dynastic ambitions. The Sungas, Kanvas and the Andhras fought for supremacy among themselves. But they, like the Muslim invader of Hindu India, had one object in common that was to destroy Buddhism and the Buddhist Empire of the Mauryas . Surely if Muslim invasions of Hindu India are worthy of study at the hands of the historians, the invasions of Buddhist India by Brahmanic invaders are equally deserving of study. The ways and methods employed by the Brahmanic invaders of Buddhist India to suppress Buddhism were not less violent and less virulent than the ways and means adopted by Muslim invaders to suppress Hinduism. From the point of view of the permanent effect on the social and spiritual life of the people, the Brahmanic invasions of Buddhist India have been so profound in their effect that compared to them, the effect of Muslim invasions on Hindu India have been really superficial and ephemeral. The Muslim invaders destroyed only the outward symbols of Hindu religion such as temples and Maths etc. They did not extirpate Hinduism nor did they cause any subversion of the principles or doctrines, which governed the spiritual life of the people. The effects of the Brahmanic invasions were a thorough going change in the principles which Buddhism had preached for a century as true and eternal principles of spiritual life and which had been accepted and followed by the masses as the way of life....

.....Bramhanism acquired by its invasions political power to annihilate Buddhism and it did annihilate Buddhism. Islam did not supplant Hinduism. Islam never made a thorough job of its mission. Bramhanism did. It drove out Buddhism as a religion and occupied its place.

These facts show that Brahmanic invasions of Buddhist India have far greater significance to the Historian of India than the Muslim invasions of Hindu India can be said to have produced."

* W. & S. -Vol-3-P-273-274

III. (A) Adopted the worshipping of cow

".....why should a Hindu king have come forward to make a law against cow-killing, that is to say, against the Law of Manu ? The answer is that the Brahmins had to suspend or abrogate a requirement of their Vedic religion in order to overcome the supremacy of the Buddhist Bhikshus. If the analysis is correct then it is obvious that the worship of the cow is the result of the struggle between Buddhism and Brahminism. It was a means adopted by the Brahmins to regain their lost position."

* W. & S. -Vol-7-P-349

(B) Develped a new philosophic justification for chaturvarna

(a). Manusmriti

"——Brahmanic revolution by Pushyamitra took place in 185 B.C. there remains no doubt that the code known as Manu Smriti was promulgated by Pushyamitra as embodying the principles of Brahmanic Revolution against the Buddhist state of the Mauryas."

* W. & S. -Vol-3-P-271

(b). Bhagvat Geeta

" Why did the Bhagvat Geeta feel it necessary to defend the dogmas of counter-revolution? To my mind the answer is very clear. It was to save them from the attack of Buddhism that the Bhagvat Geeta came into being . Buddha preached non-violence. He not only preached it but the people at large-except the Brahmins-had accepted it as the way of life. They had acquired a repugnance to violence.; Buddha preached against Chaturvarna. He used some of the most offensive similes in attacking the theory of Chaturvarna. The framework of Chaturvarna had been broken. The order of Chaturvarna had been turned upside down. Shudras and women could become sannyasis, a status which counter-revolution had denied them. Buddha had condemned the Karmakanda and the Yajnas, he condemned them on the ground of Hinsa or violence. He condemned them also on the ground that the motive being them was a selfish desire to obtain bonus. What was the reply of the counter revolutionaries to this attack? Only this. These things were ordained by the Vedas, the Vedas were infallible, therefore the dogmas were not to be questioned. In the Buddhist age, which was the most enlightened and the most rationalistic age India has known, dogmas resting on such silly, arbitrary, unrationalistic and fragile foundations could hardly stand. People who had come to believe in nonviolence as a principle of life and had gone so far as to make it a rule of life. How could they be expected to accept the dogma that the Kshatriya may kill without sinning because the Vedas say that it is his duty to kill ? People who had accepted the gospel of social equality and who were remarking society on the basis of each one according to his merits how could they accept the Chaturvarna theory of gradation, and separation of man based on birth simply because the Vedas say so ?

People who had accepted the doctrine of Buddha that all misery in society is due to Tanha or what Tawny calls acquisitive instinct-how could they accept the religion which deliberately invited people to obtain boons by sacrifices merely because there is behind it the authority of the Vedas? There is no doubt that under the furious attack of Buddhism, Jaimini's counter-revolutionary dogmas were tottering and would have collapsed had they not received the support, which the Bhagvat Geeta gave them. The philosophic defence of the counter-revolutionary doctrines given by the Bhagvat Geeta is by no means impregnable. The Philosophic defence offered by the Bhagvat Geeta of the Kshtriya's duty to kill is to say the least puerile. To say that killing is no killing because what is killed is the body and not the soul is an unheard of defense of murder."

* W. & S.-Vol-3-P-363-364

V. Brahmanic doctrine introduced into Buddhism

" The doctrine of past Karma is a purely Brahminic doctrine. Past karma taking effect in present life is quite consistent with the Brahminic doctrine of soul, the effect of karma on soul. But it is quite inconsistent with the Buddhist doctrine of non-soul.

It has been bodily introduced into Buddhism by some one who wanted to make Buddhism akin to Hinduism or who did not know what the Buddhist doctrine was."

* W. & S. -Vol-11-P-343

VI. Buddhist teachings incorporated in Hinduism

".....the illustrations I have given will be enough to show how greatly the Bhagvat Geeta is permeated by Buddhistic ideology and how much the Geeta has borrowed from Buddhism.....

I have shown that Geeta is later than PurvaMimansa and also later than Buddhism.....Mr. Tilak realizes that there are many similarities in ideas and in words between; the Bhagvat-Geeta, and Buddhism. Buddhism being earlier than the Bhagvat Geeta, the obvious conclusion is that the Bhagvat Geeta is the debtor and Buddhism is the creditor."

* W. & S.-Vol-3-P-371

VII. Prevented Kshatriyas going over to Buddism

In order to prevent the Kshtriyas going over to Buddhism the Brahmins offered them equality with themselves. There is actually a verse in one of the religious book, apart from scores of other references...., wherein it is stated that just as two policemen have to stand on two sides of a prisoner to prevent his escape so also have the Brahmins and kshtriyas to act together to prevent the Vaishyas and Shudrass getting out of their hands.

" The cow being sanctified, sacrificial ceremonials brought to an end

and a large number of other Buddhist teachings being incorporated in Hinduism, the masses who had gone over to Buddhism were slowly weaned back. The one great teaching that the Brahmins did not accept was the theory of equality and abolition of the Chaturvarna" caste system. But they did one thing. They, for the time, being put the Kshtriyas on the same level as themselves, relegated the Gods of Brahmin birth to the background, installed kshtriyas compromises."

* S.M -Vol-1-P-214

VII. Prevented Kshatriyas,.....going over to Buddhism

" In order to prevent the Kshatriyas going over to Buddhism the Brahmins offered them equality with themselves. There is actually a verse in one of the religious book, apart from scores of other references.....wherein it is stated that just as two policemen have to stand on two sides of a prisoner to prevent his escape so also have the Brahmins and Kshatriyas to act together to prevent the Vaishyas and Shudras getting out of there hands."

* S.M.-Vol-1-P-213

VIII. Organised Brahmin - Kshatriyas axis against Buddhism

" In my opinion the main reason for this was the family deity's (kuladeva) worship. In India like the village deity and national deity, there were family deities also who were worshipped through the Brahmins. The priests who used to go for worshipping these deities started influencing the affairs of the State through the queens. Asoka after embracing Buddhism discontinued this practice and removed the idols of such deities. Asoka said, "As I venerate the Buddha, the Enlightened One, there is no need to worship any other deity." This action of Asoka disturbed the Brahmins very much as it ended their unfair means of livelihood and exploitation. They pledged to take revenge for this loss.

.....In order to take revenge for the loss they suffered on account of stoppage of Kulapuja (family deity's worship), Brahmins gave up the approved motto of being advisers only and tried to grab power. With the help of their well wisher Kshatriyas, they also organised an united Brahmin-Kshatriya axis against Buddhism. The ascendancy of Brahminism again in Indian society, is one of the reasons for the downfall of Buddhism."

* W. & S-Vol-17(III)-P-408

2. Attack of Islam

By killing Buddhist priest , Islam Killed Buddhism

" To the Muslims, they were one and the same thing. The mission to break the idols thus became the mission to destroy Buddhism. Islam destroyed Buddhism not only in India but wherever it went. Before Islam came into being Buddhism was the religion of Bactria, Parthia, Afghanistan, Gandhar and Chinese, Turkesthan, as it was of the whole of Asia. In all these countries Islam destroyed Buddhism.....

.....there were three special circumstances, which made it possible for Bramhanism and impossible for Buddhism to survive the calamity of Muslim invasions. In the first place Bramhanism at the time of the Muslim invasions had the support of the State. Buddhism had no such support .....Secondly the Buddhist priesthood perished by the sword of Islam and could not be resusciated. On the other hand it was not possible for Islam to annihilate the Brahmanic priesthood. In the third place the Buddhist laity was persecuted by the Brahmanic rulers of India and to escape this tyranny the mass of the Buddhist population of India embraced Islam and renounced Buddhism."

* W. & S.-Vol-3-P-230

"For by killing the Buddhist priesthood Islam killed Buddhism. This was the greatest disaster that befell the religion of Buddha in India. Religion like any other ideology can be attained only by propaganda. If propaganda fails, religion must disappear. The priestly class, however detestable it may be, is necessary to the sustenance of religion. For it is by its propaganda that religion is kept up. Without the priestly class religion must disappear. The sword of Islam fell heavily upon the priestly class. It perished or it fled outside India. Nobody remained to keep the flame of Buddhism burning."

* W. & S. -Vol-3-P-233

" All Brahmins can be recruited to form the army of Brahmanic priesthood. Further no particular training or initiation ceremony is necessary for a Brahmin to act as a priest. His will to officiate is enough to make him function as a priest. In Brahminism the priesthood can never become extinct. Every Brahmin is a potential priest of Brahminism and be drafted in service when the need be."

* W. & S.-Vol-3-P-234

" Buddhism died because its army of priests died and it was not possible to create."

* W. & S.-Vol-3-P-235

".....the fall of Buddhism was due to the Buddhist becoming coverts to Islam as a way of escaping the tyranny of Bramhanism."

* W. & S. -Vol-3-P-238

".....Buddhism faded away in India because of the rise of Vaishnavaitism and Saivaism. Another cause was the Muslim invasion of India. "When Allauddin marched into Bihar, he killed over 5,000 Bhikshus. The remaining Buddhist monks fled to neighboring countries like Chine, Nepal and Tibet. Efforts were subsequently made by Buddhists of India to raise another priesthood in order to revive Buddhism. But these failed as by then 90 percent of Buddhists had embraced Hinduism."

* S.M.-Vol-1-P-372

"....the Huns tried to destroy Buddhism. The religion of the Buddha got the severest blow from the Muslim invasion. They destroyed the Buddhist idols

and killed the Bhikshus. They mistook the great Nalanda University as the Fort of Buddhists and killed a large number of monks thinking that they were soldiers. The few Bhikkus who escaped an onslaught fled away to the neighboring countries like Nepal, Tibet and China."

* W. & S.-Vol-17(III)-P-408

4. Other causes.

I. Rise of Vaishnavism and Saivism

".....Buddhism declined in India because of the rise of Vaishnavism and Saivism, the two cults, which adopted and absorbed many good points of Buddhism. Today, Hinduism is in a very much-changed form. Hinduism, which taught and practised violence earlier has started teaching non-violence. This has been copied from Buddhism. Buddhism may have disappeared, in material form but as a spiritual force it still exists in India."

* W. & S.-Vol-17(III)-P-409

II. Wavering attitude of Laity

" Buddhism disappeared from India because of the wavering attitude of the laity which worshipped along with the Buddha many other gods and goddesses set up by Brahmins to destroy Buddhism."

* L.& M. -P-483

III. Absence of initiation ceremony

".....there was no separate Dhamma Diksha for those who wanted to be initiated into the Dhamma, but did not wish to become members of the Sangh one of the consequences of which was to go from home into homelessness.

This was a grave omission. It was one of the causes, which ultimately led to the downfall of Buddhism in India.

For this absence of the initiation ceremony left the laity free to wonder from one religion to another and, worse still, follow at one and the same time."

* W. & S.-Vol-11-P-451

5. CONVERSION TO BUDDHISM

Declaration of conversion

"Unfortunately, I was born a Hindu Untouchable. It was beyond my power to prevent that, but it is within my power to refuse to live under ignoble and humiliating conditions. I solemnly assure you that I will not die a Hindu."

(13th october 1935 at Yeola Dist. Nasik)

* W. & S.-Vol-17(III)-P-95

Why conversion?- (What Way Emancipation)

(Part of speech delivered on 30th & 31st may 1936 at Dadar Bombay)

" The matter of conversion should be viewed through two aspects Social as well as Religious, Material as well as Spiritual. Whatever may be the aspect, or line of thinking, it is necessary to understand in the beginning, the nature of the untouchability and how it is practiced. Without this understanding, you will not be able to realise the real meaning underlying my declaration of the conversion. In order to have a clear understanding of the Untouchability and its practice in real life, I want you to recall the stories of the atrocities perpetrated against you.....But there are several other causes for which atrocities are committed on the Untouchables by the Caste - Hindus which if revealed, will surprise the public outside Hindusthan..... You all know, how the Caste-Hindus have made your daily life unbearable .....But very few of you might have realised as to why all this happens. What is at the root of their tyranny ? To me, it is very necessary, that we understand it.

This is a Matter of Class Struggle

.....The problem of the Untouchability is a matter of class struggle. It is a struggle between Caste Hindus and the Untouchables. This is not a matter of injustice against one man. This is a matter of injustice being done by one class against another. This class struggle has a relation with the social status. This struggle indicates how one class should keep its relations with another class. This struggle starts as soon as you start claiming equal treatment with others.....In all these cases , you spend your own money. Why then the high caste Hindus get irritated? The reason for their anger is very simple, your behaving on par with them insults them. Your status in their eyes is low, you are impure, you must remain at the lowest rung, then alone, they will allow you to live happily. The moment you cross your level, the struggle starts. The instances given above also prove one more fact that the Untouchability is not a short or temporary feature, it is a permanent one. To put it straight, it can be said that the struggle between the Caste Hindus and the Untouchables is a permanent phenomenon. It is eternal, because the religion which has placed you at the lowest level of the society is itself eternal, according to the belief of the High Caste people. No change, according to times and a circumstance is possible. You are at the lowest rung of the ladder today. You shall remain lowest forever. This means, the struggle between the Hindus and the Untouchables shall continue forever. How will you survive through this struggle is the main question. And unless you think over it, there is no way out. Those who desire to live in obedience to the dictates of the Hindus, those who wish to remain their slaves, they do not need to think over this problem. But those who wish to live a life of self-respect and equality will have to think over this. How should we survive through this struggle? .....

Achieve the power first

The question which you must now consider is, whether you have enough power to survive through this struggle? Three types of strength are known to man. (1) Manpower, (2) Wealth, and (3) Mental strength. Which of these, you think that you possess? So far as man-power is concerned, it is clear, that you are in a minority.....It is an undisputed fact that you at least have a little bit of man-power, but finances, you have none. You have no trades, no business, no service, no land. The pieces of bread thrown out by the higher castes, are your means of livelihood. You have no food. No clothes. What financial strength can you have? .....As regards mental strength, the condition is still worst. For centuries, you have not only served the higher caste but also tolerated their insults and tyranny without grudge and complaint, which has killed the sense to retort and revolt. Confidence, vigor and ambition have completely vanished from you.....

Why are you only oppressed ?

.....The conclusion is, if you depend only upon your own strength, you will never be able to face the oppression. I have no doubt that you are oppressed because you have no strength.....The Hindus practise injustice and tyranny against you only because you are helpless. From the above discussion, two facts are established. Firstly, you cannot face tyranny without strength. And secondly, you do not posses enough strength to face the tyranny. Having these two facts proved, the third automatically follows. That is, the strength required to face this tyranny needs to be secured from out side. How are you to gain this strength is really an important question, and you will have to ponder over this with an unbiased mind.

Strength needs to be brought from outside

.....In the villages the Untouchables suffer at the hands of the Hindus, it does not mean that there are no men of other religions and that they do not realise that the maltreatment to the Untouchables is unjust, or that the oppression of the Untouchables by the Hindus is most unjustified. But they do not come to the rescue of the Untouchables. What is the reason behind It ? If you ask them, why do they not help you, they reply that it is not their business to interfere and that had you been members of their religion, they would have helped you. From this you will realise one thing that, unless you establish close relations with some other society, unless you join some other religion, you cannot get the strength from outside. It clearly means, you must leave your present religion and assimilate yourselves with some other society. Without that, you cannot gain the strength of that society.....

Spiritual aspects of conversion

Uptilnow, we have discussed why the conversion is necessary for

material gains. Now I propose to put forth my thoughts as to why the conversion is much necessary for spiritual well being. What is Religion for? Why is it necessary? Let us try to understand it. You will find that several people have defined religion in a various ways. But amongst all of these definitions, only one is most meaningful and agreeable to all. 'That which governs people is Religion'. This is the true definition of Religion.....What should be the nature of real religion? While deciding this question; another question naturally follows. What should be the relation between a man and society.....There is no place for an individual in Hindu religion. The Hindu religion is constituted on a class-concept. Hindu religion does not teach how an individual should behave with another individual. A religion, which does not recognise the individual, is not personally acceptable to me. Although society is necessary for the individual, mere social welfare cannot be the ultimate goal of religion. According to me, individual welfare and progress (individual development) should be the real aim of the religion. Although the individual is a part of the society, the relation with society is not like the body and its organs, or the cart and its wheels.

Society and the Individual

.....Man's life is independent. He is born not for the service of the society but for his self-development. For this reason alone, in developed countries one man cannot enslave another. A religion in which an individual has no importance is not acceptable to me. The Hinduism does not recognise the importance of an individual, and therefore it is not acceptable to me.....This is what is called the Chaturvarna in Hinduism. I have clearly stated my views about it. It is for you now to think whether this Hinduism is beneficial to you. The basic idea underlying a religion is to create an atmosphere for the spiritual development of an individual. If this is agreed upon, it is clear that you cannot develop yourself at all in the Hinduism. Three factors are required for the uplift of an individual. They are Sympathy, Equality and Liberty. Can you say by experience that any of these factors exists for you in the Hinduism?

Is there any sympathy for you in Hinduism?

.....The Hindus have no sense of brotherhood towards you. You are treated worse than foreigners. If one looks at the relations of the neighbouring Hindus and the Untouchables of a village, none can say that they are brothers. They can rather be described as two opposing armies at war camp. The Hindus do not have the slightest affinity towards you as they have towards Muslims. They consider Muslims closer to them than you. The Hindus and the Muslims are helpful to each other in local boards, Legislative Councils and in business. But is there a single instance of such sympathetic consideration being shown towards you by the Caste Hindus?.....

Is their equality for you in Hinduism?

.....The Untouchability is nothing but concrete inequality. Such a living example of inequality is to be found nowhere. Not at any time in the history of world can we find such inequality, which is more intense than the Untouchability.....Your condition is worse than the leper. Even today, if anyone hears words coming from the mouth of a Mahar, at the time of breaking a fast, he will not touch his food. Such filth is attached to your body and your words. Some people say that the Untouchability is a stigma on Hindu religion. This statement, however, does not convey any sense at all. No Hindu believes that the Hindu religion is a stigma. The majority of Hindus, however, believe that you are a stigma, that you are impure. How have you been brought to this condition? I think, you have been thrust into this condition because you have continued to be Hindus. Those of you who have become Muslims are treated by the Hindus neither as the Untouchables nor as the unequal. The same can be said of those of you who have became Christians are treated by the Hindus neither as the Untouchables nor as the unequals.....Not only the Hindus but the Muslims and the Christians also consider you the lowest of the low . In fact, the teachings of Islam and Christianity do not create the sense of high and low. Then why do the followers of these two religions treat you as low. The reason is only one that the Hindus consider you as lowest of the low, so the Muslims and the Christians also consider you likewise. They fear that if they treat you as equals, the Hindus will treat them also as low. Hence, Muslims and Christians also follow the Untouchability like Hindus. Thus, we are not low in the eyes of the Hindus alone, but we are the lowest in the whole of India, because of the treatment given to us by the Hindus. If you have to get rid of this shameful condition, if you have to cleanse this stigma and make this precious life graceful, there is only one way and that is to discard the Hindu religion and the Hindu Society.

Have you any freedom in Hindu religion ?

.....The Untouchables are in more need of social liberty than that which is guaranteed by law. So long as you do not achieve social liberty, whatever freedom is provided by law to you, is of no avail. Some persons might advise you that you have physical freedom.....A man has a body as well as a mind. Mere physical freedom is of no use. Freedom of the mind is of prime importance. Really speaking, what is meant by the physical freedom to a man? It means, he is free to act according to his own free will..... The freedom of mind is the real freedom. A person, whose mind is not free, though not in chains, is a slave. One, whose mind is not free, though not in prison, is a prisoner. One whose mind is not free, though alive, is dead. Freedom of mind is proof of one's existence.....

.....In my opinion, not only you have any freedom but you are worse than slaves. Your slavery has no parallel. In the Hindu religion, none can have freedom of speech..... A Hindu must necessarily be a slave of either the Vedas or the Smritis or must imitate the great men. He is not supposed to use his reasoning. Hence, so long as you are a part of the Hindu religion,

you cannot expect to have freedom of thought..... It is an undisputed fact that the whole of the Hindu religion is the creation of the high Caste Hindus for the welfare and prosperity of the high-castes. To which they call a religion, has assigned you a role of the slave. Every arrangement is made in the religion itself, so that you may not be able to escape from this slavery. Therefore, to you there is more need of breaking the bondage of mental slavery of the Hindu religion, so far the Hindus do not need. In view of this, the Hinduism has marred your progress from two sides. It has sacked your mental freedom and made you slaves. In the outer world also, it has doomed you to the conditions of a slave. If you want freedom, you must change your religion.

Untouchables' organizations and conversion

.....Although we are not responsible for the introduction of the Untouchability and the castes among us, it is our responsibility to annihilate it.....I feel greatly satisfied that you have realised the necessity of abolition of castes, for which I extend my the heartiest congratulations. But have you ever thought as to how the efforts towards abolition of castes in the Untouchables can be made successful? Castes cannot be abolished by inter-caste dinners or stray instances of inter-caste marriages. The caste is a state of mind. It is a disease of the mind. The teachings of the Hindu religion are the root cause of this disease. We practice the casteism, we observe the Untouchability, because we are asked to do so by the Hindu religion in which we live. A bitter thing can be made sweet. The taste of salty and astringent things can be changed. But the poison cannot be made nectar (amrit.!) To talk of annihilating castes while living in the Hinduism is like talking of changing the poison into nectar (amrit.).

In short, so long as we remain in the religion which teaches a man to treat other man as filthy, the sense of discrimination on account of caste, which is, is deeply rooted in our minds, cannot be abolished. For annihilating the castes and the Untouchability from among the Untouchables, change of religion is the only antidote.

'Change in name' and 'change in religion'

.....You are as separate from the Hindus as Muslims and Christians are. As Hindus do not have inter-dining's and inter-marriages with Muslims and Christians, so is their relation with you. Your society and that of the Hindus are two distinct groups. By the conversion, nobody can say or feel that one society has been split up.....Nobody can change his name unless certain conditions demand it. There is a very simple reason for such a change of name. An unknown person cannot distinguish between the Touchable and an Untouchable and so long as a Hindu does not come to know the caste of a person, he cannot bear in him hatred towards that person for being an Untouchable.....By your actions, you have proved, the necessity of a change in name. Then I would like to ask you, if you feel the need of change in your name, what objection

should there be for the change of religion? Changing a religion is like changing a name. Change of a religion followed by the change of name will be more beneficial to you.....

The role of opponents

.....A foolish alone will say that one has to adhere to ones religion because it is that of his ancestors. No wise man will accept such a proposition. Those who argue that the ancestral religion should not be changed, seem that they have not read the history at all.....Here it is also necessary to consider whether it was possible for your ancestors to revolt against this religion. Had it been possible for them to revolt and they had still not acted upon, then only we could have said that they had accepted this real conditions, it will be clear to us that our ancestors were compelled to live in that religion. Thus this Hindu Religion is not the religion of our ancestors, but it was slavery thrusted upon them. Our ancestors had no means to fight this slavery and hence they could not revolt.....

The fault lies with the touchables alone

.....To reform the Hindu society is neither our aim nor our field of action. Our aim is to gain freedom for us. We have nothing to do with anything else. If we can gain our freedom by the Conversion, why should we shoulder the responsibility or reforming the Hindu Society?.....The principal object of our movement is only to achieve the social freedom for the Untouchables; it is equally true that this freedom cannot be secured without conversion.....this Conversion of Religion will bring happiness to both-the Untouchables as well as Hindus. So long as you remain as Hindus, you will have to struggle for polluting contacts, for food and water, and for inter-caste marriages. And so long as this quarrel continues, you and the Hindu will be the perpetual enemies to each other. By the conversion, the roots of all the quarrels will vanish. Then you will have no right to claim on their temples as well there will be no need for the same.....Thus by conversion, if the equality can be achieved and the affinity between the Hindus and the Untouchables can be brought about, then why should the Untouchables not adopt this simple and happy path of securing equality? Looking at the problem through this angle, the conversion is the only right path of freedom, which ultimately leads to equality. The conversion is not the path of escapism. It is not the path of cowardice, it is the path of wisdom.

.....If the Hindus proclaim to disband the caste system, their religion will come in their way. On the other hand, if the Muslims and the Christians start movement for abolishing the caste system in their society, their religion will not obstruct this. **The Hindus cannot destroy their castes without destroying their religion. The Muslims and the Christians need not destroy their religions for eradication of the castes. Rather their religion will support such movements to great extent...**

And if the country is to be benefited by self Government alone, the

Untouchables are also bound to be benefited by the conversion. After giving a deep thought to this problem, everybody will have to admit that the conversion is necessary to the Untouchables as self-government is necessary to India. **The conversion is as important to the Untouchables as is self Government to India. The ultimate object of both the conversion and the self-government is the same. There is not the slightest difference in their ultimate goal. This ultimate aim is to attain freedom.** And if the freedom is necessary for the life of mankind, the conversion of Untouchables which bring them complete freedom cannot be called worthless by any stretch of imagination.....The Untouchability is a permanent obstacle in your path of progress. And unless you remove it, your path cannot be smooth and without the conversion, this hurdle cannot be removed...Untouchability is a kind of curse. You have been completely ruined and all your virtues have turned into dust.....

.....

Religion is for man

I tell you specifically that man is not for religion, religion is for man. To become human, convert yourselves. To get organised, convert yourselves. To achieve strength, convert yourselves. To secure equality, convert yourselves. To get liberty, convert yourselves. To make your domestic life happy, convert yourselves.

Why do you remain in that religion which does not treat you as human beings? Why do you remain in that religion which does not allow you to educate? Why do you remain in that religion which prohibits you from entering a temple? Why do you remain in that religion which prohibits you from water? Why do you remain in that religion which obstructs you from getting a job? Why do you remain in that religion, which insults you at every step? A religion, which prohibits righteous relation between man and man, is not a religion but a display of force. A religion, which does not recognize a man as a human being, is not a religion but a disease. A religion, which allows the touch of animals but prohibits the touch of human being, is not a religion but a mockery. A religion, which precludes one class from education, forbids accumulating wealth, to bear arms, is not a religion but a mockery of the life of human being. A religion that compels the illiterate to be illiterate, and the poor to be poor, is not a religion but a punishment

..... You should not, however , be led away by emotion and follow me only because I say so. You should consent only if it appeals to your reason..... You have to keep in mind that this is , therefore, a crucial occasion . Your today's decision will carve out a path for prosperity of your future generations. If you decide today to get liberated, your future generations will definitely be liberated . If you decide to remain slave, your future generations will also be slaves. Hence yours is the most difficult task.

* W. & S.-Vol-17(III)-P-117-146

Why Nagpur for conversion ceremony?

" Many people asked a question, why had you chosen Nagpur the place for this ceremony? Why this ceremony was not performed at some other place? A few people say that since the large platoon of R.S.S (Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh) is in Nagpur and just to embarrass them this ceremony is being held in this city. This is not true at all. For this reason this ceremony is not being held at Nagpur. Our mission is so stupendous that every minute of life is inadequate. I do not have time to ill omen other by scratching my nose.

The reason for choosing this place is different. Those who have studied the Buddhist history will come to know that the people who propagated Buddhism in India were the Nag people. Nag people were the fierce enemy of the Aryans. Many fierceful battles took place between the Aryans and the non-Aryans. Many examples are available in the Puranas about where the Aryans burnt the Nagas. The sage Agasti could save only one Naga. We are the descendents of him. The Naga people who tolerated the oppression needed some great man to uplift them and they found that great man in Lord Gautam Buddha. The Nagas propagated the teachings of Lord Buddha throughout India. Such are we Nagas. The major habitation of the Naga people was in and around Nagpur. Therefore this city is called 'Nag-pur' means the city of Nagas. There is a Nagarjun Hill about 27 miles from this place. The river flowing nearby is Nag River. Obviously this river got this name because of the people living here. The river, which flows through the habitation of the Naga people, is the Nag River. This is the main reason to select this place-Nagpur there is no question of irritating anybody nor the intention. The reason of the R.S.S. even did not touch my mind. Nobody should interpret in that way."

(14 Oct. 1956 Nagpur)

* W. & S.-Vol-17(III)-P-533-534

Purpose of conversion

" As an individual, nothing in this country is impossible for me (clapping). How the arranged declivity of Vaishya, Kshatriya and Brahmin on your head will be tumbled down and destroyed, is the real question. Hence, it is my duty to give you in all respects the knowledge of this religion. By writing books, I will remove all your doubts and suspicions and will try to lead you to a stage of full knowledge."

* W. & S.-Vol-17(III)-P-544

Why I like Buddhism?

" I prefer Buddhism because it gives three principles in combination, which no other religion does. All other religions are bothering themselves with God and soul and life after death. Buddhism teaches Pradnya (understanding as against superstition and supernaturalism) It teaches

Karuna (love),It teaches Samata (equality). This is what man wants for a good and happy life on earth These three principles of Buddhism make their appeal to me. These three principles should also make and appeal to the world. Neither God nor soul can save society."

* W. & S.-Vol-17(III)-P-515

As a part of conversion ceremony he got recited the **22 OATHS** form the people, Which are as follows:

1. I shall have no faith in Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesh, nor shall I worship them.
2. I shall have no faith in Rama and Krishna, nor shall I worship them.
3. I shall have no faith in 'Gouri', 'Ganpati', and other Gods and Goddesses of Hindu religion, nor shall I worship them.
4. I do not believe in the theory of incarnation of Gods.
5. I do not and shall not believe that the Lord Buddha was the incarnation of Vishnu. I believe this to be, mischievous and false propaganda.
6. I shall not perform 'Shraaddha' nor, shall I give 'pind-dan'.
7. I shall not act in any manner contrary to the principles and teachings of the Buddha.
8. I shall not perform any ceremony through Brahmins.
9. I believe in the equality of mankind.
10. I shall endeavour to establish equality.
11. I shall follow the Eightfold Path taught by the Buddha.
12. I shall follow the 'ten Paramitas' enunciated by the Buddha.
13. I shall be compassionate to all living beings and nurture them with care.
14. I shall not steal.
15. I shall not lie.
16. I shall not commit carnal sins.
17. I shall not consume liquor.
18. I shall strive to lead my life in conformity with the three principles of Buddhism i.e. Pradnya (wisdom), Sheel (character) and Karuna (compassion).
19. I hereby embrace Buddhism by renouncing my old Hindu religion which is detrimental to the prosperity to the humankind and discriminate human being and treat them low.
20. I firmly believe that the Buddha Dhamma is the Saddhamma.
21. I believe, I am entering the new life.
22. Hereafter I pledge to conduct myself in accordance with the teachings of the Buddha."

* W-& S-Vol-17(III)-P-530

ADVISE TO LAITY

Follow the Buddhist religion in the finest way

"..... your responsibility is great too. Your behavior should be such that other people will honour and respect you. Do not think that this religion means we have got stuck with a corpse around our neck. As far as the Buddhism is concerned, the land of India is of no account. We must resolve to follow Buddhist religion in the finest way. It should not happen that the Mahar people brought the Buddhism to disgrace, so we must have firm determination. If we accomplish this, then we will thrive ourselves, our nation, and not only that but the whole world also. Because the Buddhist religion only will be the saviour of the world."

* W-& S-Vol-17(III)-P-544

Give 20th part of your income

" This new path is full of responsibilities. The young should keep in mind that we had made some resolutions and expressed some desires. They should not become selfish idlers. We should decide that, at least, we should give 20th part of our income for this purpose."

* W-& S-Vol-17(III)-P-544

Give up all Hindu religious festivals

"We must give up (observing) all the religious festivals and days which we had been observing according to the Hindu religion. We must consider whether the rites performed according to the Hindu religion are proper from the point of view of religion and morality. Some rites are full of extreme ribaldry."

(Date 5 Jan, 1938 Bombay)

* W-& S-Vol-17(III)-P-160

Propagate the Buddha Dhamma in India

"It is very wrong to believe that Buddha is incarnation of Vishnu. This is a false and mischievous propaganda". The preachers of this diabolical theory are none other than the followers of Brahminism. Their sole aim is to maintain the stratification based on inequality and mutual hatred in order to maintain their hold on the society. I have been struggling throughout my life to abolish this evil practice of division based on caste and mutual hatred. In reality, I feel guilty of starting late the work of revival of Buddhism in India. But even them I hope and believe that my people who, sacrificing their own comforts, have been faithfully following me. I hope and I trust they will continue to struggle sincerely to propagate the Buddha Dhamma in India."
(Date 17-11-1956 World Buddhist Conference)

* W. & S.-Vol-17(I)-P-449-450

".....the duty of a Buddhist is not merely to be a good Buddhist. His duty is to spread Buddhism. They must believe that to spread Buddhism is to serve mankind."

* W. & S.-Vol-17(II)-P-108

Buddhist marriage ceremony

"The Buddhist marriage ceremony is simple. There is no Home and there is no Saptapadi. The essence of the ceremony lies in placing an earthen pot newly made between the bride and the bridegroom on a stool and to fill it brimful with water. The bride and the bridegroom to stand on two sides of the pot. They should place a cotton thread in the water pot and is hold one end of the thread in their hands. Someone should sing the Mangal Sutta. Both bride and bride groom should wear white clothes."

(A letter Dt. 4 dec 1956 to V.K. Kardak,by Dr. Ambedkar)

* L.F.Y. - P- 107

HIS SOME STATEMENTS

The greatest benefit confered on Coutery.

" the greatest benefit I am conferring on the country by embracing Buddhism; for Buddhism is a part and parcel of Bhartiya culture. I have taken care that my conversion will not harm the tradition , the culture and history of this land".

* L & M.- P - 498

" I am sure crores of rupees would have been showered at our feet, and I would have ruined this country, within five years. But I do not desire that I may be recorded in history as an iconoclast."

* C.S. P-86

I am reborn

" By discarding my ancient religion, which stood for inequality and oppression today, I am reborn. I have no faith in the philosophy of incarnation, and it is wrong and mischievous to say that Buddha was an incarnation of Vishnu. I am no more a devotee of any Hindu God or Goddess. I will not perform Shraddha. I will strictly follow the eight-fold path of Buddha. Buddhism is a true religion and I will lead a life guided by the three principles of knowledge, right path and compassion."

* L & M. -P-500

I am overjoyed , I am exalted , I feel I have been liberated from the hell.

* W. & S.-Vol-17(I)-P-edito- XX

I have accomplished a great deed

" I have the divine satisfaction of having accomplished a great deed

and set in motion the wheel of Dhamma once again, thus establishing the revival of Buddhism in India. I have fulfilled the prediction of Sir William Hunter who had said as early as 1881 that, the revival of Buddhism is I repeat, one of the possibilities in India."

* L & M.-P-504

India must embrace Buddhism

"..... as long as there is no purity of mind wrong doing and utter disregard of morals would continue in every day life; and as long as man does not know how to behave with man and creates barriers between man and man. India can never be prosperous."

"To end all these troubles, India must embrace Buddhism. Buddhism is the only religion based upon ethical principles and teaches how to work for the good and well-being of the common man."

* S.M.-Vol.1-P-374

6. REVIVAL OF BUDDHISM IN INDIA

To spread Buddhism ....India should be preferred

" To spread Buddhism outside Burma to be one of the aims of the Sasana Council then India is the first country they should make the centre of their effort. No other country will yield so much as India will.

The reason is obvious. India is a birthplace of Buddhism. It flourished in India from 543 B.C. to 1400 A.D. i.e. for nearly 2,000 years. Although the Buddhist religion has vanished, the name of the Buddha is still held in great veneration and the memory of His Religion is still green. In India Buddhism may be a withered plant; but no one can say that it is dead at the roots. He is regarded by the Hindus as Avatar of Vishnu. In India we do not have to restore veneration for a new prophet as Neburchnerar had to do for his Gods among the Jews. All that we have to do is to bring back His religion. Such easy conditions for a fruitful effort cannot be found in any other country. In them there are well and long established religions and Buddhism would be regarded as an intruder without a passport. So far India is concerned the Buddha needs no passport nor does he require any visa.

There are sections among the Hindus who are eager to leave Hinduism and go over to Buddhism. Such are the Untouchables and the Backward Classes. They are against Hinduism because of its doctrine of graded inequality. In the present stage of their intellectual awakening these classes up in arms against Hinduism. Now is the time to take advantage of their discontent.

They prefer Buddhism to Christianity on three grounds: -

(i) Buddhism is not a religion which is alien to India;

(ii) The essential doctrine of Buddhism is social equality which they want;

(iii) Buddhism is rational religion in which there can be no room for superstition."

* W. & S.-Vol-17(III)-P-506-507

The preliminary step

" I will now turn to the preliminary step, which must be taken for the revival of Buddhism in India. I mention below those that occur to me:

a. The preparation of a Buddhist Gospel which could be a constant companion of the convert. The want of a small Gospel containing the teachings of the Buddha is a great handicap in the propagation of Buddhism. The common man cannot be expected to read the 73 volumes of the Pali Cannon. Christianity has a great advantages over Buddhism in having the message of Christ contained in a small booklet "The Bible'.This handicap in the way of the; propagation of Buddhism must be removed. In regard to the preparation of Buddha's Gospel care must be taken to emphasise the social and moral teachings of the Buddha. I have to emphasise this because what is emphasised is meditation, contemplation and Abhidhamma. This way of presenting Buddhism to Indians would be fatal to our cause.

b. The introduction of a ceremony like Baptism is in Christianity for the laity. There is really no ceremony of conversion i.e. for becoming a lay disciple of the Buddha. Whatever ceremony of conversion there is, is for becoming a Bhikkhu, for entering into the Sangha. Among the Christians there are two ceremonies-

1. For Baptism showing acceptance of Christianity and

2. For ordination i.e. becoming a priest. In Buddhism there is no ceremony like Baptism. This is the main reason why people after becoming Buddhist slip; out of Buddhism. We must introduce a ceremony like the Christian Baptism which every lay person must undergo before he can be called a Buddhist". Merely uttering the Pancha Sila is not enough. Many other points must be added to make person feel that he is ceasing to be a Hindu and becoming a new man.

3. The appointment of number of lay preachers who could go about and preach the Buddhists and see how far they are following the Buddha's Dhamma. The lay preachers must be paid and secondly they may be married persons. In the beginning they may be part time workers.

5. The establishment of a Buddhist Religious Seminary where persons who wish to become preachers could be taught Buddhism and also comparative study of other religions.

6. The introduction of congregational worship in the Vihara every Sunday followed by a sermon.

In addition to these preliminary steps it is necessary to do some other things which require to be done in a big way as aid to our propagation campaign. In this connection I make the following proposals:

I. Building big temples and Viharas in the four important towns, (1) Madras; (2) Bombay; (3) Nagpur and (4) Delhi.

II. Establishment of High Schools and Colleges in the following towns; (1) Madras; (2) Nagpur; (3) Calcutta and (4) Delhi.

III. Inviting essays of Buddhist topics and giving prizes to the first three sufficient in values so as to attract people to make their best efforts to study Buddhist literature. The essays should be open to all, Hindus, Muslims; and Christians; to men as well as to women. This is the best way of making people interested in the study of Buddhism.

Temples should be as big as to create the impression that something big is really happening. High Schools and Colleges are necessary adjuncts. They are intended to create Buddhist atmosphere among younger men. Besides they will not only pave their way but bring a surplus which could be used for other missionary work. It should be remembered that most of the Christian Mission find funds for financing their activities from the surplus revenue which is yielded by the Schools and Colleges they run.

I have set out above that preliminary steps must be taken. I feel that I must also set out what precautions must be taken in launching the movement for the revival of Buddhism in India. If Buddhism is not to disappear again.

Buddhism has not disappeared from India, because its doctrines were found or proved to be false. The reasons for the disappearance of Buddhism from India are different. Buddhism was in the first place over powered and suppressed by the Brahmins. It is now sufficiently known that the last Maurya Emperor, descendent of Emperor Asoka, was murdered by the Brahmin Commander-in-chief by name PushyaMitra who usurped the throne and established Brahminism as a State religion. This led to the suppression of Buddhism in India, which is one of the causes of its decline. While the rise of Brahminism brought about the suppression of Buddhism; in India the Muslim invasion of India brought about its complete destruction, by the violence it practiced in destroying Viharas and killing Bhikshus.

The danger to Buddhism from Islam no longer exists but the danger from Brahminism exists. It will be its toughest opponent. A Brahmin will remain a Brahmin no matter what colour he assumes or what party he joins. That is because Brahmins want to maintain the system of graded social inequality. For it is this graded inequality, which has raised the Brahmins above all and to be on the top of everybody. Buddhism believes in equality. Buddhism strikes at the very root of their prestige and power. That is why the Brahmins hate it. It is quite possible that if the Brahmins

are allowed to lead the movement of revival of Buddhism they may use their power to sabotage it or misdirect it. The precaution to exclude them from position of power at least in the early stages of our movement is, therefore, very necessary."
(4th Dec.1954, Rangoon, Burma)

* W. & S.-Vol-17(III)-P-508-511

" The definite objects of my visit are first, to see Buddhist Ceremonial. **Ceremonial is an important part of religion**. Whatever rationalists might say, ceremonial is a very essential thing in religion. By coming here I thought I would be able to see the ritual that formed part and parcel of Buddhism."
(25th May to 6th June, 1950 WFB, at Candy)

* W. & S.-Vol-17(III)-P-404

"I have been of the opinion that the conversion of the laity is not conversion at all. It is only a nominal thing. The so-called Buddhist laity besides worshipping the Buddha also continued to worship other Gods and Goddesses, which were set up by the Brahmins to destroy Buddhism. Buddhism disappeared from India largely of this wavering attitude of the laity. If hereafter Buddhism is to be firmly established in India the laity must exclusively be tied up to it. This did not happen in the past because in Buddhism there was a ceremony for initiation into the Sangh but there was no such ceremony for initiation into the Dhamma. In Christianity there are two ceremonies. (1) Baptism which is initiation into the Christian religion, (2) Ordination of the priest. In this respect the new movement for the propagation of Buddhism in India must copy Christianity. To remove this dangerous evil in Buddhism I have prepared formula, which I call Dhamma Diksha. Every one who wishes to be converted to Buddhism shall have to undergo through ceremony. Otherwise he will not be regarded as a Buddhist."
(Letter to Valisinha, Dt. 16th Feb.1955)

* W. & S.-Vol-17(I)-P-430

" We have to consider ways and means of imparting knowledge of Buddhism to the masses who have accepted His Dhamma and will accept it on my word. We should no doubt train large number of workers to teach Dhamma to the people, but the best agents for carrying out the same are the Bhikkus. They would carry a great deal of prestige with them, which no layman could do.

The Bhikkus in my judgement ought to be very happy to find out that a large task awaiting them has been done. The only difficulty with the Bhikkus is that they don't care to learn the language of the people. I am afraid the Sangh will have to modify its outlook and instead of becoming recluses they should become like the Christian missionaries the social workers and social preachers. As I told you today they are neither Arhants nor useful members of the society. This fact must be hammered into them

and make them realize that they could serve the Buddha well by becoming preachers of His Dhamma.

I like your idea of opening a sort of the logical seminar where Bhikkus and non-Bhikkus could be taught the fundamentals of Buddhism and make to learn the different languages of India so that they could be sent to the different parts.

So far as my reading of the mind of the Indian youth is concerned it is very difficult to make them turn to learn the monastic ideals. The best way is that we can create like Japanese married priests like the Protestant Christians have done. For that we shall have to find means for their support during their educational period and after they go out public life as priests." (Letter to Vali sinha, Dt. 30th Oct. 1956)

* W. & S.-Vol-17 (I)-P-446-447

Buddhist seminary proposed to be started

"——a Buddhist seminary would be started in Bangalore as a preliminary step to spreading Buddhism in India.... The main object of this institution would be to train preachers for propagating Buddhism among the common folk.... Students would be admitted to the seminary without consideration of caste, creed or nationality and would undergo courses in comparative study or religions and other allied subjects. He believed that no one could uphold Buddhism truly without studying the other religions also scientifically.

——the seminary would also have a press where Buddhist literature would be printed. A group of eminent scholars from all over the world would be engaged in translating Buddhist texts in Pali and other languages into English and they would be published by the seminary.

A large library with books on religion and philosophy would be another feature of the seminary. There would be also temples and classrooms and dormitories for students teachers and research scholars."

* S.M. -Vol-1-P-424

The enlightened Hindu masses are sure to turn to Buddhism

" Does Hinduism give any mental and moral relief to the millions of Backward Classes and the Scheduled Castes? It does not. Do Hindus expect these Backward Classes and the Scheduled Castes to live under Hinduism which gives them no promise of mental and moral relief.? Such an expectation would be an utter futility. Hinduism is floating on a volcano. Today it appears to extinct. But it is not. It will become active once these mighty millions have become conscious of their degradation and knows that is largely due to the social philosophy of the Hindu Religion. One is reminded to the overthrow of paganism by Christianity in the Roman Empire. When the masses realized that paganism could give them no mental and moral relief they gave it up and adopted Christianity. What

happened in Rome is sure to happen in India. The Hindu masses when they are enlightened are sure to turn to Buddhism."

* W. & S. -Vol-17(II)-P-103

7. BUDDHIST BHIKKHU SANGHA

The purpose of establishing the Bhikkhu Sangha

"....what was the purpose for which Buddha thought of establishing the Bhikkhu Sangha.? What was the necessity for creating a separate society of Bhikkhu? One purpose was to set up a society, which would live up to the Buddhist ideal embodied in the principles of Buddhism and serve as a model to the layman. Buddha knew that it was not possible for a common man to realize the Buddhist ideal. But he also wanted that the common man should know what the ideal was and also wanted there should be placed before the common man a society of men who were bound to practise his ideas. That is why he created the Bhikkhu Sangha and bound it down by the rules of Vinaya. But there were other purposes, which had in his mind when he thought of founding the Sangha. One such purpose was to create a body of intellectuals to give the laymen, true and impartial guidance. That is the reason why he prohibited the Bhikkhu from owning property. Ownership of property is one of the greatest obstacles in free thinking and free application of free thought. The other purpose of Buddha in founding the Bhikkhu Sangha was to create a society the members of, which would be free to do service to the people. That is why he did not want the Bhikkhu to marry."

* W. & S. Vol-17 (II)-P 106

Bhikkhu Sangha used to observed parliamentary procedure

" It is not that India did not know parliaments or parliamentary procedure. A study of the Buddhist Bhikkhu Sanghas discloses that there were parliaments - for the Sanghas were nothing but parliaments but (that) the Sangha knew and observed all the rules of the parliamentary procedure known to modern times. They had rules regarding seating arrangements, rules regarding motions, resolutions, quorum, whip, counting of votes, voting by ballot, censure motion, regularization, res judicata etc, although these rules of parliamentary procedure were applied by the Buddha to the meeting of the Bhikkhu Sanghas, he must have borrowed them from the rules of the Political Assemblies functioning in the country in his time."

* W. & S.-Vol-13-P-1214-1215

Dhamma - the supreme commander of the Sangha

" The Bhikkhu Sangha had the most democratic constitution. He was only one of the Bhikkhu. At the most he was like a Prime Minister among, members of the Cabinet. He was never a dictator. Twice before his death he was asked to appoint some one as the head of the Sangha to control it. But each time he refused saying that the Dhamma is the Supreme Commander of the Sangha."

* W. & S. - Vol-3-P- 452

The Bhikkhu- The Buddhas Conception of him .

He who wishes to put on a yellow dress without having cleansed himself from sin, who disregards also temperance and truth, is unworthy of yellow dress.

But he who has cleanseel himself, from sin, is well grounded in all virtues, and endowed also with temperance and truth , he is indeed worthy of yellow dress.

He who is above evil, who is chaste, who with care passes through the world, he indeed is called a Bhikkhu.

He who never identifies himselfs with name and form, and does not grieve over what is no more, he indeed is called a Bhikkhu.

* W. & S.-Vol-11-P-425-426

Bhikkhus - the torch bearer of the Buddha's ideal society

" The Sangha is a model of a society realizing the Dhamma preached by the Blessed lord...

——The Bhikkhu was the torchbearer of the Buddha's ideal society and the Upasaka was to follow the Bhikkhu as closely as he could.....

.....Without self-culture he is not fit to guide. Therefore he must himself be a perfect, best man, righteous man and an enlightened man. For this he must practise self-culture.

A Bhikkhu who is indifferent to the woes of mankind, however perfect in self-culture, is not at all a Bhikkhu."

* W. & S. - Vol-11-P 434,435

We want Bhikkhus - highly educated, active social servant

" We want fewer Bhikkhus and we want Bhikkhus highly educated. Bhikkhu Sangha must borrow some of the features of the Christian priesthood particularly the Jesusits. Christianity has spread in Asia, through service educational and Medical. This is possible because the Christian priest is not merely versed in religious lore but because he is also versed in Arts and science. This was really the ideal of the Bhikkhus of olden times. As is well known the Universities of Nalanda and Taxilla were run and manned by Bhikkhus. Evidently they must have been very learned men and knew that social service was essential for the propagation of their faith. The Bhikkhus of today must return to the old ideal. The Sangha as composed cannot render this service to the laity and cannot therefore attract people to itself."

W. & S. Vol-17 (II) - P 107

" If the Bhikkhu is only a perfect man he is of no use to the propagation of Buddhism because though a perfect man he is a selfish man. If, on the other hand, he is a social servant he may prove to be the hope of Buddhism. This question must be decided not so much in the interest of doctrinal consistency but in the interest of the future of Buddhism."

* W. & S. - Vol-11-P - Introduction

" Great responsibility lies on the shoulders of the Bhikkhus if this attempt at the revival of Buddhism is to be a success. They must be more active than they have been. They must come out of their shell and be in the front rank of the fighting forces."

* A.& B. - P- 16

8. BUDDHIST LITERATURES

Need of a Bible of Buddhism

" The production of a Bible of Buddhism is the first and fore most need. The Buddhist literature is a vast literature. It is impossible to expect a person who wants to know the essence of Buddhism to wade through the sea of literature. The greatest advantage, which the other religions have over Buddhism, is that each has a gospel, which every one can carry with him and read wherever he goes. It is a handy thing. Buddhism suffers for not having such a handy gospel. Indian Dhammapada has failed to perform the function which gospel is expected to every great religion has been built on faith.But faith can not be assimilated if presented in the form of creed and abstract dogmas. It needs some thing on which the imagination can fasten, some myth or epic or gospel- what is called in journalism a story. The Dhammapada is not fastened around a story. It seeks to build faith on abstract dogmas.

The proposed Gospel of Buddhism should contain (I) a short life of Buddha (ii) The Chinese Dhammapada (iii) Some of the important Dialogues of Buddha and (iv) Buddhist Ceremonies birth, initiation, marriage and death. In preparing such a gospel the linguistic side of it must not be neglected. It must make the language in which it is produced live. It must become an incantation instead of being read as narrative or ethical exposition. Its style must be lucid. moving and must produce a hypnotic effect."

* W. & S. Vol-17(II) - P - 105-106

Literatures - disfigured by additions of Brahimanic ideas

" Any one who knows the central teachings of the Buddha is quite bewildered after reading the Sutta Pitaka as we find it now wrapped about by the mythical drapery, disfigured by additions of purely Brahmanic ideas entirely foreign to the original Buddhist thought and distorted by the twists and turns given to it by Monastic ideas intended to enforce Monastic ideals."

* W. & S. Vol-17 (II) - P - 110

" The doctrine of past Karma is a purely Brahminic doctrine. Past karma taking effect in present life is quite consistent with the Brahminic doctrine of soul, the effect of karma on soul. But it is quite inconsistent with the Buddhist doctrine of non-soul.

It has been bodily introduced into Buddhism by some one who wanted to make Buddhism akin to Hinduism or who did not know what the Buddhist doctrine was."

* W. & S. -Vol-11-P-343

Buddhist literature and ancient Indian history

" Much of ancient history of India is no history at all. Not that ancient India has no history. It has plenty of it. But it has lost its character. It has been made mythology to amuse women, and children.

.... Fortunately with the help of the Buddhist literature. Ancient Indian History can be dug out of the debris, which the Brahmin writers have heaped upon in a fit of madness.

The Buddhist literature helps a great deal to remove the debris and see the underlying substance quite clearly and distinctly."

* W. & S. Vol-3-P-151-152

The Brahmin of the intellectual caste of India enjoyed the conspicuous leisure" and the conspicuous consumption" vicariously. Consequently the economic activity of the ancient Hindus found no exponents and no mention in the literature which is purely sacerdotal. This also explains why India did not produce any literature on the science of Economic as such..... The Buddha Jatakas -the birth- stories of Buddha-are the earliest source on the subject and contains literary references to the economic organization of the Indian society.

* W. & S. vol. L2 - P - 6

the economic activity of the ancient Hindus found no exponents and no mention in the literature which is purely sacerdotal. This also explains why India did not produce any literature on the Science of Economic as such. Hence we are compelled to depend entirely on foreign authorities and their scanty reference to India's commerce

Before we launch on the subject of commerce we shall do better to take hasty survey of the Economic development of Ancient India. There is no authority on the subject that can take us back to the pre-Buddha times. The Buddha Jatakas-the birth-stories of Buddha-are the earliest source on the subject and contain literary references to the economic organisation of the India society which may be supposed to have existed from times very remote from the dates of these Jatakas....."

* W. & S.Vol. -12- P-6

9. BUDDHISM AND HINDUISM - A COMPARISION

" Buddhism differed from Hinduism. Hinduism believes in God Buddhism has no God. Hinduism believes in soul. According to Buddhism there is no soul. Hinduism believes in Chaturvarna and the caste system. Buddhism has no place for the caste system and Chaturvarna."

* W. & S. Vol-17 (III)-P 517

" Hinduism is a religion, which is not founded on morality. Whatever morality Hinduism has it is not an integral part of it. It is not embedded in religion. It is a separate force which is sustained by social necessities and not by the injection of Hindu religion. The religion of the Buddha is morality. It is embedded in religion. Buddhist religion is nothing but morality. It is true that Buddhism there is no God. In place of God, there is morality. What God is to other religions morality is to Buddhism."

* W. & S. Vol-17(II) - P 98

".....point of contrast lies in the fact that the official gospel of Hinduism is inequality, for the doctrine of Chaturvarna is the concrete embodiment of this gospel of inequality. As against this Buddha stood for equality. He was the greatest opponent of Chaturvarna. He not only preached against it, fought against it but did every thing to uproot it. According to Hinduism neither a Shudras nor woman could became a teacher of religion nor could they take Sanyasa and reach God. Budhha on the other hand admitted Shudras to the Bhikkhu Sangh. He also admitted woman to become Bhikkhunis."

* W. & S. Vol-17 (II)-P 100

10. HINDUISM

Hinduism - the latest development

"I disagree with the view that Hinduism has all along been the religion of India. Hinduism is the latest development of social thought in India.

The religion of India has under gone three changes, Vedic religion which was practiced first gave away in course of time, to Brahmanism and this in turn to Hinduism. It was during Brahmanic period that Buddhism was born."

* W. & S.Vol-17-(III)-P-406

Hinduism - A political ideology

".....Hinduism is a political ideology of -the same character as the Fascist or Nazi ideology and is thoroughly anti-democratic. If Hinduism is let loose which is what Hindu majority means - it will prove a menace to the growth of others who are outside Hinduism and are opposed to Hinduism. This is not the point of view of Muslims alone. It is also the point of view of the Depressed Classes and also of the non-Brahmins."

* S.M.-Vol-I-P-240-241

The center of Hinduism - the class of Brahmins

".....the philosophy of Hinduism does not answer the test either of utility or of justice is because the religious ideal of Hinduism for divine governance of human society is an ideal which falls into a separate class by itself. It is an ideal in which the individual is not the centre. The centre of the ideal is neither individual nor society. It is a class - the class of Supermen called Brahmins."

* W. & S. - Vol-3-P-72

" Hinduism is not interested in the common man. Hinduism is not interest in society as a whole. The centre of its interest lies in a class and its philosophy is concerned in sustaining and supporting the rights of that class. That is why in the philosophy of Hinduism the interests of the common man as well as of society are denied, suppressed and sacrified to the interest of this class of Supermen."

* W. & S.- Vol -3-P- 77

Hinduism preaches separation

"..... it is well known that Hinduism preaches separation instead of union. To be a Hindu means not to mix, to be separate in everything. The language commonly used that Hinduism upholds Caste and Untouchability perhaps disguises and conceals its genius. The real genius of Hinduism is to divide . This is beyond dispute . For, what do caste and untouchability stand for ? Obviously for separation. For caste is another name for seperation and Untouchability typifies the extremist form of separation of community from community."

* W. & S.- Vol -9-P-186

"..... Hinduism and social union is incompatible. By its very genius Hinduism believes in social separation which is another name for social disunity and even creates social separation. If Hindus wish to be one they will have to discard Hinduism. They cannot be one without violating Hinduism. Hinduism is the greatest obstacle to Hindu Unity. Hinduism cannot create that longing to belong which is the basis of all social unity. On the contrary Hinduism creates an eagerness to separate."

* W. & S. - Vol -9-P- 187

" Hinduism is inimical to equality, antagonistic to liberty and opposed to fraternity."

* W. & S.- Vol -3-P- 66

" Inequality is the soul of Hinduism. The morality of Hinduism is only social. It is unmoral and unhuman to say the least."

* W. & S.-Vol-3-P-87

" If the Hindu religion is to be a religion of social equality then an amendment of its code to provide temple entry is not enough. What is

required is to purge it of the doctrine of Chaturvarna. That is the root cause of all inequality and also the parent of the caste system and untouchability, which are merely forms of inequality. Unless it is done not only will the Depressed Classes reject temple entry, they will also reject the Hindu faith. Chaturvarna and the caste system are incompatible with the self-respect of the Depressed Classes. So long it continues to be the cardinal doctrine, the Depressed Class must continue to be looked upon as low."

* W. & S. - Vol -5-P- 384

Caste is integral part of Hinduism

"..... there can be no doubt that caste is one and an essential and integral part of Hinduism. Every Hindu if he is not merely a statutory Hindu believes in caste and every Hindu even one who prides himself on being a statutory Hindu has a caste. A Hindu is as much born into caste as he is born in Hinduism. Indeed a person cannot be born in Hinduism unless he is born in caste. Caste and Hinduism are inseparable."

* W. & S. - Vol -3-P- 336

" Brahminism is the poison, which has spoiled Hinduism. You will succeed in saving Hinduism if you will kill Brahminism."

* W. & S.-Vol -1-P- 77

11. BRAHMANIC LITERATURE

What Brahmanic theories are ?

" One can do nothing with the Brahmanic theories except to call them senseless ebullitions of a silly mind."

* W. & S.- Vol -7-P- 66

" The literature of the Hindus is full of caste genealogies in which an attempt is made to give a noble origin to one caste and an ignoble origin to other castes."

* W.&S.-Vol-I-P-51-52

" The record of the Brahmins as law givers for the Shudras, for the Untouchables and for women is the blackest as compared with the record of the intellectual classes in other parts of the world. For no intellectual class has prostituted its intelligence to invent a philosophy to keep his uneducated countrymen in a perpetual state of ignorance and poverty as the Brahmins have done in India. Every Brahmin today believes in this philosophy of Brahminism propounded by his forefathers."

* W. & S.-Vol-9-P-216

" This Vedic literature had grown to enormous proportions and what is important is that, it had grown in a wild manner."

* W. & S.-Vol-3-P-246

" For what is this sacred literature ? It is a literature, which is almost entirely the creation of the Brahmins . Secondly, its whole object is to sustain the superiority and privileges of the Brahmins as against the non-Brahmins."

* W. & S.-Vol-7-P-16

Two fold interest in the maintenance of the sanctity

" The Brahmin scholar has a two - fold interest in the maintenance of the sanctity of this literature. In the first place being the production of his forefathers his filial duty leads him to defend it even at the cost of truth. In the second place as it supports the privileges of the Brahmins , he is careful not to do anything which would undermine its authority."

* W. & S.-Vol-7-P-17

" The Brahmins systematically preyed on society and profiteered in religion. The Puranas and Shastras which he manufactured in tons are a treasure trove of sharp practices which the Brahmins employed to befool, beguile and swindle the common mass of poor, illiterate and superstitious Hindus."

* W. & S.-Vol-1-P-220

THE VEDAS

What Is the origin of the Vedas?

" Here we have eleven different explanations regarding the origin of the Vedas - (1) as originating from the mystical sacrifice of Purusha, (2) as resting on Skambha (3) as cut of scrapped off from him, as being his hair, and his mouth, (4) as springing from Indra, (5) as produced from time, (6) as produced from Agni, Vayu and Surya, (7) as springing from Prajapati, and the Waters, (8) as being the breach of Brahma, (9) As being dug by the Gods out of the mind-ocean, (10) as being the hair of Prajapati's beard and (11) as being the offspring of the Vach.

This bewildering multiplicity of answers to a simple question is a riddle. The writers who have come forward to furnish these answers are all Brahmins. They belong to the same Vaidic school of thought. They alone were the guardians of the ancient religion lore. Why should such a coherent body of scholars should have given such incoherent and chaotic answers to a very simple question?"

* . & S. -Vol-4-P-133

There are really two Vedas

" All students of the Vedas know that there are really two Vedas: - (1) the Rig Veda and (2) the Atharva Veda. The Samaveda and the Yajur Veda are merely different forms of the Rig Veda. All students of the Vedas know that the Atharva Veda was not recognized by the Brahmins as sacred as the Rig Veda for a long time. Why was such a distinction made? Why

was the Rig Veda regarded as sacred? Why was the Atharva Veda treated as vulgar? The answer, I like to suggest, is that the two belonged to two different races of Aryans and it is only when they had become one that the Atharva Veda came to be regarded on a par with the Rig Veda."

* W. & S. -Vol-7-P-87

Forgery with Vedas

" Certain portions of the Vedas were a forgery introduced at a later stage. He was surprised that so clever a people as the ancient Brahmins should have insisted upon fastening such tremendous sanctity and authority on such books as contained nothing but tomfoolery."

* L & M.P-366

The Vedas do not preach morality

" The Vedas do not preach Dharma in the sense of morality. The three following extracts from the Vedas can hardly be said to be consonant with morality."

* W. & S.-Vol-4-P-140

".....the Vedas to show that they contain nothing that can be said to be spiritually or morally elevating. Neither the subject matter nor contents of the Vedas justify the infallibility with which they have been invested."

* W. & S.-Vol-4-P-52

" Far from being spiritual and elevating, the hymns of the Rig-Veda are saturated with wicked thoughts and wicked purposes."

* W. & S.-Vol-3-P-176

" The Vedas are a worthless set of books. There is no reason either to call them sacred or infallible."

* W. & S. - Vol-4-P-8

Buddha denied the Vedas as sacred

" He (Buddha) denied that the Vedas were sacred. He denied that whatever the Vedas said was final. He denied that the Vedas were infallible.....

In the Tvijja Sutta the Buddha declared that the Vedas were a waterless desert, a pathless jungle, in fact perdition. No man with intellectual and moral thirst can go to the Vedas and hope to satisfy his thirst."

* W. & S.-Vol-11-P-275

MANU SMRITI

Sumati Bhargava is the real author of Manusmriti

" The Manu Smriti is said to be divine in its origin. It is said to be revealed to man by Manu to whom it was revealed by the Swayambhu. (i.e the Creator) This claim, as will be seen from the reference already made to it, is set out in the Code itself. It is surprising that nobody has

cared to examine the grounds of such a claim. The result is that there is a complete failure to realise the significance, place and position of the Manu Smriti in the history of India. This is true even of the historians of India although the Manu Smriti is a record of the greatest social revolution that Hindu society has undergone. There can however be no doubt that the claim made in the Manu Smriti regarding its authorship is an utter fraud and t' e beliefs arising out of this false claim are quite untenable.

The name Manu had a great prestige in the ancient history of India and it is with the object to invest the code with this ancient prestige that its authorship was attributed to Manu. That this was a fraud to deceive people is beyond question. The code itself is signed in the family name of the Bhrigu as was the ancient custom. "The Text Composed by Bhrigu (entitled) "The Dharma Code of Manu" is the real title of the work. The name Bhrigu is a subscribed to the end of every chapter of the Code itself. We have therefore the family name of the author of the Code. His personal name is not disclosed in the book, all the same it was known to many. The author of Narad Smriti writing in about the fourth century A.D knew the name of the author of the Manu Smriti and gives out the secret. According to Narada it was one Sumati Bhargava to composed the Code of Manu. Sumati Bhargava is not a legendary name, and must have been historical person for even Medhatithe the great commentator on the Code of Manu held the view that, this Manu was "a certain individual. Manu therefore is the assumed name of Sumati Bhargava who is the real author of Manusmriti."

* W. & S. - Vol - 3 - P- 270

Manu Smriti was composed between 170 B.C and 150 B.C

" When did this Sumati Bhargava compose this Code? It is not possible to give any precise date for its composition. But quite a precise period during which it was composed can be given. According to scholars whose authority cannot be questioned Sumati Bhargava must have composed the Code which he deliberately called Manu Smriti between 170 B.C and 150 B.C. Now if one bears in mind the fact that the Brahmanic Revolution by Pushyamitra took place in 185 B.C. there remains no doubt that the Code known as Manu Smriti was promulgated by Pushyamitra as embodying the principles of Brahmanic Revolution against the Buddhist state of the Mauryas. That the Manu Smriti forms the Institutes of Brahmanism and are a proof that Pushyamitra Revolution was not a purely personal adventure will be clear to any one who cares to note the following peculiarities relating to the Manu Smriti."

* W. & S. - Vol - 3 - P- 271

MAHABHARAT

The Bharat in the hand of Sauti became Mahabharat

" Sauti's version ultimately came to have the name of Mahabharat,

The book has grown both in size and in the subject matter as well. The 'Jaya of Vyas was small work having not more than 8800 Shlokas. In the hands of Vishamapayana it grew into 24000 verses. Sauti expanded it to contain 96836 Shlokas. As to subject matter the original as composed by Vyas was only a story of the war between the Kauravas and the Pandavas. In the hands of Vaishampayana the subject became two-fold. To the original story there was added the sermon. From a purely historical work, it became a diadactic work aiming to teach a right code of social, moral and religious duties. Sauti the last Editor made it an all-embracing repository of legendary lore. All the smaller floating legends and historical stories which existed independently of the Bharata were brought together by Sauti so that they might not be lost or that they may be found together. Sauti had another ambition that was to make the Bharata a storehouse of learning and knowledge. This is the reason why he added sections on all branches of knowledge such as politics, geography, archary etc. Taking into account Sauti's habit of repetition, it is no wonder that the Bharata in his hand became Mahabharata."

* W. & S. -Vol-3-P-241

The writing of Mahabharat was not complete till 1200 A.D.

" The Mahabharat contains a reference to the Huns. It was Skandagupta who fought the Huns and defeated them in or about the year 455 A.D. Notwithstanding this the invasions of the Huns continued till 528 A.D. It is obvious that the Mahabharata was being written about his time or thereafter.

There are other indications, which suggest a much later date. The Mahabharata refers to the Mlenchhas or the Muslims. In the 190th Adhyaya of the Vana parva of the Mahabharata there is a verse 29 wherein the author says that "the whole world will be Islamic. All yadnas, rites and ceremonies and religious celebrations will cease".This is a direct reference to the Muslims and although the verse speaks of what is to happen in the future, the Mahabharata being a Purana must as in the case of the Purana be taken to speak of the event that has happened. This verse so interpreted show that the Mahabharata was being written after the date of the Muslims invasions of India."....

There occur other verses in the same Adhayaya of the Vanaparva. They are 65,66 and 67. In these verses it is said that "Society will became disarranged. People will worship Yedukas . they will boycott Gods. The Shudras will not serve the twice born. The whole world will be covered with yedukas. The Yug will come to an end."

What is the meaning of the term 'Yedukas'? by some it has been taken to mean a Buddhist Chaitya. But according to Mr. Kaushambi this is wrong. Nowhere either in the Buddhist literature or in the Vedic literature is the word yeduka used in the sense of 'Chaitya'. On the contrary according to the Amarkosh as commented upon by Maheshawar Bhatt

the word Yeduka means a wall which contains a wooden structure to give it strength. So understood Kaushambi contends that the word Yeduka must mean 'Idgaha' of the Musalmans before which they say their prayers. If this is a correct interpretation then it is obvious that parts of the Mahabharta were written after the invasion of Mohammad Ghori. The first Muslim invasion took place in 712 A.D. under Ibne Kassim. He captured some of the towns in Northern India but did not cause much destruction. He was followed by Mohammad of Gazni. He caused great destructions of temples and Viharas and massacred priests of both religions. But he did not engage himself in building Mosques or Idgahas. That was done by Mohammad Ghori. From this it can be said that the writing of the Mahabharata was not complete till 1200 A.D."

* W. & S.-Vol-3-P-242-243

BHAGVAT GEETA

What is Bhagvat Geeta if it is not gospel?

" The Bhagvat Geeta is not: a gospel and it can therefore have no message and it is futile to search for one. The question will no doubt be asked: - What is the Bhagvat Geeta if it is not a gospel? My answer is that the Bhagvat Geeta is neither a book of religion nor a treatise on philosophy. What the Bhagvat Geeta does is to defined certain dogmas of religion on philosophic grounds. If on that account anybody wants to call it a book of religion or a book of philosophy may please himself. But essentially it is neither. It uses philosophy to defend religion."

* W. & S. - Vol-3-P-361

Why Geeta defend the dogmas of counter revolution?

"....Why did the Bhagvat Geeta feel it necessary to defend the dogmas of counter-revolution ? To my mind the answer is very clear. It was to save them from the attack of Buddhism that the Bhagvat Geeta came into being. Buddha preached non-violence. He not only preached it but the people at large-except the Brahminsm had accepted it as the way of life. They had acquired a repugnance to violence. Buddha preached against a Chaturvarna. He used some of the most offensive similes in attacking the theory of Chaturvarna. The framework of Chaturvarna had been broken. The order of Chaturvarna had been, turned upside down. Shudras and women could become Sannyasis, a status which counter-revolution has denied them. Buddha had condemned the Karma Kanda and the Yajnas., he condemned them on the ground of Himsa or violence. He condemned them also on the ground that the motive behind them was a selfish desire to obtain bonus. What was the reply of the counter-revolutionaries to this attack? Only this. These things were ordained by the Vedas, the Vedas were infallible, therefore the dogmas were not to be questioned. In the Buddhist age, which was the most enlightened and the most rationalistic age India has known, dogmas resting on such silly, arbitrary, unrationalistic and fragile foundations could hardly stand. People who had come to believe

in non-violence as a principle of life and had gone so far as to make it a rule of life. How could they be expected to accept the dogma that the Kshatriya may kill without sinning because the Vedas say that it is his duty to Kill? People who had accepted the gospel of social equality and who were remarking society on the, basis of each one according to his merits-how could they accept the Chaturvarna theory of gradation, and separation of man based on birth simply because the Vedas say so ? People who had accepted the doctrine of Buddha that all misery in society is due to Tanha or what Tawny calls acquisitive instinct how could they accept the religion which deliberately invited people to obtain boons by sacrifices merely because there is behind it the authority of Vedas? There is no doubt that under the furious attack of Buddhism, Jaimini's counter revolutionary dogmas were tottering and would have collapsed had they not received the support which the Bhagwat Geeta gave them .The philosophic defence of the counter revolutionary doctrines given by the Bhagwat Geeta is by no means impregnable. The philosophic defence offered by the Bhagwat Geeta of the Kshtriya's duty to kill is to say the least puerile. To say that killing is no killing because "what is 'killed" is the body and not the soul is an unheard of defence of murder."

* W. & S.-Vol-3-P-363-364

" Hinduism had to make many changes in its doctrines as a result of an attack made by Buddha, it gave up Himsa. It was prepared to give up the doctrine of the infallibility of the Vedas. On the point of Chaturvarna neither side was prepared to yield. Buddha was not prepared to give up his opposition to the doctrine of Chaturvarna. That is the reason why Brahminism has so much more hatred and antagonism against Buddhism than it has against Jainism. Hindusim has to recognise the force of the Buddha's arguments against Chaturvarna. But instead of yielding to its logic, Hinduism developed a new philosophic justification for Chaturvarna . This new philosophic justification is to be found in the Bhagwat Geeta . No body is able to say for certain what the Bhagvat Geeta teaches. But this much is beyond question that the Bhagvat Geeta uphold the doctrine of Chaturvarna. In fact it appears that this was the main purpose for which it was written. And how does the Bhagvat Geeta justify it ? Krishna says that he as God created the system of Chaturvarna and he constructed it on the basis of the theory of Guna Karma-which means that he prescribed the status and occupation of very individual in accordance with his innate gunas (or qualities). Two things are clear, one is that this theory is new. The old theory was different. According to the old theory the foundation of Chaturvarna was the authority of the Vedas. As the Vedas were infallible so was the system of Chaturvarna on which it rested. The attack of the Buddha on the infallibility of the Vedas had destroyed the validity of this old foundation of Chaturvarna. It is quite natural that Hinduism which was not prepared to give up Chaturvarna and which it regarded as its very soul should attempt to find for it a better foundation, which the Bhagvat Geeta proposes to do. But how good is this new justification given by Krishna in the Bhagvat Geeta? To most Hindus it appears to be quite convincing, so convincing that they believe it to be irrefutable. Even to

many non-Hindus it appears to be very plausible, very enticing. If the Chaturvarna had depended only on the authority of the Vedas I am sure it would have long disappeared . It is the mischievous and false doctrine of the Bhagvat Geeta which has given this Chaturvarna which is the parent of the Caste system-apparently a perpetual loss of life. The basic conception of this new doctrine is taken from the Sankhya philosophy . There is nothing original about it. The originality of Krishna lies in applying it to justify Chaturvarna. It is in its application that the fallacy lies . Kapila, the author of the Sankhya system held that there is no God that God is necessary only because matter is believed to be dead. But matter is not dead, it is active. Matter consists of three Gunas Raj, Tamas and satva. Prakriti appears to be dead only because the three gunas are in equilibrium. When the equilibrium is disturbed by one of the gunas becoming dominant over the other two, Prakriti becomes active. This is the sum and substance of the Sankhya philosophy. There can be no quarrel with this theory. It is perhaps true. It may therefore, be granted that each individual as a form of prakriti is made up of the three gunas. It may even be granted that among the three gunas there is a competition for dominance of one over the other. But how could it be granted that a particular guna in a particular individual which at one time say at the time of his birth happens to dominate his other gunas will continue to dominate them for all times, till his death? There is no ground for this assumption either in the Sankhya Philosophy or in actual experience. Unfortunately neither Hitler nor Mussolini were born when Krishna propounded his theory. Krishna would have found considerable difficulty in explaining how signboard painter and a bricklayer could become dictators capable of dominating the world. The point of the matter is that the Prakriti of an individual is always changing because the relative position of the gunas is always changing. If the gunas are ever changing in their relative position of dominance there can be no permanent and fixed system of classification of men into varnas and no permanent and fixed assignment of occupation. The whole theory of the Bhagvat Geeta therefore, falls to the ground."

* W. & S.-Vol-17(II)-P-100-102

Chaturvarna and Guna Karma theory

" If Krishna were to appear as a lawyer acting for a client who is being tried for murder and pleaded the defence set out by him in the Bhagvat Geeta there is not the slightest doubt that he would be sent to the lunatic asylum. Similarly childish is the defence of the Bhagvat Geeta of the dogma of Chaturvarna. Krishna defends it on the basis of the Guna theory of the Sankhya. But Krishna does not seem to have realized what a fool he has made of himself. In the Chaturvarna there are four Varnas. But the gunas according to the Sankhya are only three. How can a system of four varnas be defended on the basis of a philosophy, which does not recognise more than three Gunas."

* W. & S.-Vol-3-P-364

Geeta barrowed ideology from Buddhism

"..... the illustrations I have given will be enough to show how greatly the Bhagvat Geeta is permeated by Buddhistic ideology and how much the Geeta has borrowed from Buddhism."

* W.&S.-Vol-3-P-371

" Mr. Tilak realizes that there are many similarities in ideas and in words between the Bhagvat Geeta and Buddhism. Buddhism being earlier than the Bhagvat Geeta, the obvious conclusion is that the Bhagvat Geeta is the debtor and Buddhism is the Creditor."

* W. & S.-Vol-3-P-371

RAMAYAN

" As in the case of the Mahabharata there has been an accretion to the subject matter of the Ramayana. Originally it was just story of the war between Rama and Ravana over the abduction of Rama's wife Sita by Ravana. In the second edition it became a story with a sermon. From a purely historical work it also became a didactic work aiming to teach a right code of Social, Moral and religious duties. When it assumed the form of a third edition it was, again, like the Mahabharata, made a repository of legends, knowledge, learning, philosophy and other arts and sciences.

With regard to the date of the composition of the Ramayana one proposition is well established namely that the episode of Rama is older than the episode of the Pandus. But that the composition of the Ramayana has gone on paripassu along with the composition of the Mahabharata. Portions of Ramayana may be earlier than the Mahabharat but there can be no doubt that a great part of the Ramayana was composed after a great part of the Mahabharata had already been composed."

* W. & S.-VOI-3-P-243-244

DHARMA SUTRAS

.....the Vedic literature consist of the Vedas, the Brahmanas, the Aranyakas, and the Upanishadas. From the point of their subject matter, this literature falls into two classes. (1). Literature which deals with religious observances and rites and ceremonies thechnical called Karam Kanda and. (2) literature which deals with the Knowledge about God to use the Vedic equivalent; the Brahmanas, technically called Gnana kanda. The Vedas and the Brahamanas falls under the first category of literature, while the Aranyakas and the Upanishads fall under the second.

This Vedic literature has grown to enormous proportions and what is important is that, it had grown in the wild manner.....

.....There can be no doubts that the Vedanta Sutras are composed after the rise of Buddhism for the Sutras do allude to Buddhism. They must not be after Manu for Manu refers to them in his Smriti. Prof. Keith

holds that they must have been written about 200 A.D. And Prof. Jacobi believes that the Sutras must have been composed between 200 A.D. and 450 A.D.

" There was the time when the Vadas were not he sole infallible authorities . That was the time represented by the Dharma Sutras of Vashishta and Baudhayana Apastambha does not invest the Vedas with any authority at all. Knowledge of Vedas is made by him as an electoral qualification for membership of the Assembly whose agreed decision is the law and the only law. The Veda was not at all regarded as a book of authority and when the only recognized source of authority was an agreement arrived at in an Assembly of the learned. It is only in the time of Gautama that the Vedas came to be regarded as the only authority. There was a time when an agreed decision of the Assembly was admitted as one source of authority. That is the period represented by Baudhayana."

*

W. & S.-Vol-4-P-27

PURANAS

" The Puranas today no.18. This is however not the original no. According to tradition, there is no reason to doubt, there was only one Purana to start with. Tradition alleges that this Purana was older than the Vedas. The Atharva Veda refers to this Purana and the Bramhanda Puran says that it is more ancient than the Vedas it was a lore which the king was expected to know for the Satpada. Brahmana says the Adhvaryu was required to recite the Purana to the King on the tenth day of the Yajna.

The origin of the 18 Purana is attributed to Vyas who it is said recast the original single Purana and by additions and subtractions made 18 out of one. The making of the 18 Puranas is thus the second stage in the evolution of the Puranas. The addition of each of the18 Puranas as published are uttered by Vyas is called the Adipurana i.e the original edition as brought out by Vyas. After Vyas composed these 18 Puranas, he taught to his disciples Romharsana."

*

W. & S.-Vol-3-P-253

Age of this Literature (Except Vedas) is post-Buddhistic

" This short survey is enough to remove any doubt as to the age of this literature that it is post-Buddhistic. The survey establishes one more point of great significance. This literature arose during the period subsequent to the triumph of Brahmins under the leadership of Pushyamitra. The survey brings out one other point. Vyas writes Mahabharat. Vyas tells Bhagwat Geeta, and Vyas also writes the Puranaas. Mahabharat contains 18 Parvas, the Geeta has 18 Adhyayas, and the Puranaas 18. Is all this an Accident? Or is it the result of a design planned and worked out in concert ?"

*

W.&S.-Vol-3-P-257

1. LITERATURE ON THE SCIENCE OF ECONOMIC

The Brahmin or the intellectual caste of India enjoyed " the conspicuous leisure and the conspicuous consumption" vicariously: consequently the economic activity of the ancient Hindus found no exponents and no mention in the literature which is purely sacerdotal. This also explains why India did not produce any literature on the Science of Economic as such. Hence we are compelled to depend entirely on foreign authorities and their scanty reference to India's commerce

Before we launch on the subject of commerce we shall do better to take hasty survey of the Economic development of Ancient India. There is no authority on the subject that can take us back to the pre-Buddha times. The Buddha Jatakas-the birth-stories of Buddha-are the earliest source on the subject and contain literary references to the economic organisation of the India society which may be supposed to have existed from times very remote from the dates of these Jatakas....."

* W. & S.Vol. -12- P-6

2. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE

".....I should have expected some provision whereby it would have been possible for the State to make economic, social and political justice a reality and I should have from that point of view expected the Resolution to state in most explicit terms that in order that there may be social and economic justice in the country, that there would be nationalization of industry and nationalization of land, I do not understand how it could be possible for any future Government which believes in doing justice socially, economically and politically, unless its economy is a socialistic economy."

* W. & S. Vol. 13- p-.9

3. TAXATION POLICY

The main plank of taxation policy ————————

(1) Tax must be levied on the taxable capacity and not on the income ;

(2) The tax must be progressive, i.e. the rich must be taxed more and the poor less;

(3) Exemptions to tax payers below a certain limit ;

(4) The land revenue item must not be rigid, but elastic and subject to variations.

Taxation system alternated on two points:

(1) There should be equity between different classes, and

(2) No taxation system should be manipulated as to lower the standard of living of the people ".

* C.S.P-272

4. LAND REVENUE

———It was unjust to assess the land revenue on the income. The rate of assessment did not depend on the capacity to pay the tax. The taxable capacity was enhanced with the growth in the income. Under these circumstances, it was held that the present system of assessment was unjust. So it was not just to receive equal taxes from all. Those below a certain income must be exempted. In the case of land revenue, the rich and the poor were equally taxed, He remarked that article 107 of the land revenue code must be abolished, and land revenue must be brought under the income tax provisions *

* C.S.-P-259

5. PROHIBITION

" The Excise Revenue is being sacrificed for a false ideology which has no meaning, no sense and no reality.

In regard to the Policy of Prohibition followed by the Congress, the following conclusions could be drawn without fear of challenge:.....

1. An enormous amount of revenue is sacrificed for nothing,
2. People have not ceased to drink. There is enormous amount of illicit manufacture of liquor, which is being sold to the public clandestinely,
3. The money lost by Government is picked up by the illicit manufacturer.
4. Prohibition has demoralized society. Formerly, only male members of the family drank because they alone could go to the liquor shop. Now illicit liquor manufacture has become a Home industry. Liquor being now made at home both men and women drink.
5. In addition to the loss of revenue on account of Prohibition Government has to undertake increased expenditure on police to enforce Prohibition which, however, they never do ".

* W& S.-Vol-1-P-166

Prohibition is sheer madness. Its progress must not only be arrested but it must be immediately abolished. It has produced more evils than those it was intended to stop. Manufacture of liquor. Now women and children also drink because liquor is manufactured in every home in the presence of women and children. It has produced more crime and worst sort of demoralization of the lower classes.

.....From the point of equity, there is no justification for prohibition. The cost of prohibition is borne by the general public. Why should the general public be made to pay the cost of reforming a Lakh or two of habitual drunkards who could never be reformed? Why should the general public be made to pay the cost of prohibition when the other wants of the public such as education, housing and health are crying for remedy? Why not use the money for development plans? Who has greater priority, the Drunkard or the Hungry? There are pertinent questions to which there is no answer except arrogance and obstinacy. Whatever happens, the policy of prohibition must be reversed and this colossal waste of public money should be put a stop to and the resources utilised for advancing general welfare. (Election manisfesto of S.C.F- 1951)

* W.&.S.-Vol-17(I)-P-398-399

6. AGRICULTURE

" I too agree that after abolishing landlordism, the state must be the owner of the land and not the proprietor or the peasant . The natural consequence of the abolition of landlordism must be collective farming or cooperative farming. But, we are too much individualists. The cooperative farming, though useful and improving in production, is regarded by the peasant as an aggression on our system. This is due to the individualist tendencies of our farmers. Though we abolished landlordism we would not be able to build our economy on sound basis by such methods. The whole out look of our peasants must be changed, then and then only we would be able to reap the fruits of our revolutionary attempt to throw off the yoke of landlords.

* C.S.-P-260

...the ILP suggested the starting of land mortgage banks, agricultural producer's cooperative societies and marketing societies. The pressure of population on land was aggravated by the fragmentation of holdings, and it was a direct cause of poverty of the agriculturists. Protection of an agricultural tenant was urgent; and the benefits that an industrial worker gets must be advanced to the agricultural worker also. In respect of land problems, the schemes of land settlement to unemployed and landless must be adopted . Though industrialization progressed, agriculture was bound to remain the foundation of India's economy. For increased agricultural production, mechanized agriculture, large farms, introduction of cooperative and collective farms must be devised. The principles of minimum wage must be introduced for agricultural labour.

* C.S.-P-260

It can be laid down without fear of challenge that industrialization will foster the enlargement of holdings and that it will be the most effective barrier against sub-division and fragmentation. Agreeing in this, it may be observed that industrialization will not be a sufficient remedy for

consolidation. That it will require direct remedies may be true. But it is also true that industrialization, though it may not bring about consolidation, will facilitate consolidation . It is an incontrovertible truth that so long as there is the premium on land consolidation will not be easy, no matter on how equitable principles it is proposed to be carried out. Is it a small service if industrialization lessens the premium, as it inevitably must? Certainly not. Consideration of another aspect of consolidation as well points to the same conclusion, that industrialization must precede consolidation. It should never be forgotten that unless we have constructed an effective barrier against the future sub-division and fragmentation of a consolidated holding it is idle to lay out plans for consolidation . Such a barrier can only be found in industrialization; for it alone can reduce the extreme pressure which, as we have shown, causes sub - division of land. Thus, if small and scattered, holdings are the ills from which our agriculture is suffering to cure it of them is undeniably to industrialize.

* W. & S.- Vol.- I- P-478

The election manifesto of the Scheduled Castes Federation (1952) promised" to strive for redemption from oppression and exploitation of man by man, of class by class, and of nation by nation". The Scheduled Castes Federation further supported the undertaking of industry when it was possible and essential. To raise the finances Ambedkar suggested (1) reduction of expenditure on the army; (2) relevy of the salt tax (3) abolition of prohibition and the saving of the excise revenue (4) nationalization of insurance, (5) compulsory insurance for state and private employees.

* C.S.P.277

7. STATE SOCIALISM

..... old time constitutional lawyers believed that the scope and function of Constitutional law was to prescribe the shape and form of the political structure of society. They never realized that it was equally essential to prescribe the shape and form of the economic structure of society, if Democracy is to live up to its principle of one man, one value. Time has came to take a bold step and define both the economic structure as well as the political structure of society by the Law of the Constitution.

* W. & S. Vol-I-P-412

...to establish State Socialism without abrogating Parliamentary Democracy and without leaving its establishment to the will of a Parliamentary Democracy. Critics of State Socialism even its friends are bound to ask why make it a part of the Constitutional Law of the land? Why not leave it to the legislature to bring it into being by the ordinary process of law. The reason why it can not be left to the ordinary law is not difficult to understand. One essential condition for the success of a planned economy is that it must not be liable to suspension or abandonment. It must be permanent. The question is how this permanence can be secured.

Obviously it can not be secured under the form of Government called Parliamentary Democracy under the system of Parliamentary Democracy, the policy of the Legislature and of the Executive is the policy of the majority for the time being. Under the system of Parliamentary Democracy the majority in one election may be in favour of State Socialism in Industry and in Agriculture. At the next election the majority may be against it. The anti-State Socialism majority will use its law making power to undoing the work of the pro - State Socialism majority and the pro-State Socialism majority will use its law making power to doing over again what has been undone by their opponents ..... For these reasons political Democracy seems to be unsuited for the purpose.

..... Dictatorship can give the permanence which state Socialism requires as an essential condition for its fructification. .....those who want freedom are not prepared to give up Parliamentary Democracy as a form of Government . However, much they may be anxious to have State Socialism they will not be ready to exchange Parliamentary Democracy for Dictatorship eventhough the gain by such an exchange is the achievement of State Socialism. The problem therefore is to have state Socialism without Dictatorship, to have State Socialism with Parliamentary Democracy. The way out seems to be to retain Parliamentary Democracy and to prescribe state Socialism by the Law of the Constitution so that it will be beyond the reach of a parliamentary majority to suspend, amend or abrogate it. It is only by this that one can achieve the triple object, namely, to establish Socialism, retain Parliamentary Democracy and avoid Dictatorship.

* W. & S. Vol-I-P-411 - 412

How to protect the unemployed as well as the employed from being cheated out of their Fundamental Rights to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness? The useful remedy adopted by Democratic countries is to limit the power of Government to impose arbitrary restraints in political domain and to invoke the ordinary power of the legislature to restrain the more powerful individual from imposing arbitrary restraints on the less powerful in the economic field.

* W. & S. - Vol-1-P-410

The United States of India shall declare as a part of the law of its constitution: -

1. That industries which are key industries or which may be declared to be key industries shall be owned and run by the State;
2. That industries, which are not key industries but which, are basic industries shall be owned by the State and shall be run by the State or by Corporations established by the State.
3. That Insurance shall be a monopoly of the State and that the State shall compel every adult citizen to take out a life insurance policy commensurate with his wages as may be prescribed by the Legislature.

4. That agriculture shall be State Industry;

5. That State shall acquire the subsisting rights in such industries, insurance and agricultural land held by private individuals, whether as owners, tenants or mortgagees and pay them compensation in the form of debenture equal to the value of his or her right in the land. Provided that in reckoning the value of land, plant or security no account shall be taken of any rise therein due to emergency, of any potential or unearned value or any value for compulsory acquisition;

6. The State shall determine how and when the debenture holder shall be entitled to claim cash payment;

7. The debenture shall be transferable and inheritable property but neither the debenture holder nor the transferee from the original holder nor his heir shall be entitled to claim the return of the land or interest in any industrial concern acquired by the State or be entitled to deal with it in any way.

8. The debenture holder shall be entitled to interest on his debenture at such rate as may be defined by law, to be paid by the State in cash or in kind as the State may deem fit;

9. Agricultural industry shall be recognized on the following basis: -

I. The State shall divide the land acquired into farms of standard size and let out the farms for cultivation to residents of the village as tenants (made up of group of families) to cultivate on the following conditions:

a. The farm shall be cultivated as collective farm;

b. The farm shall be cultivated in accordance with rules and directions issued by Government;

c. The tenants shall share among themselves in the manner prescribed the produce of the farm left after the payment of charge properly leviable on the farm.

II The land shall be let out to villagers without distinction of caste or creed and in such manner that there will be no landlord, no tenant and no landless labourer;

III It shall be the obligation of the State to finance the cultivation of the collective farms by the supply of water, draft animals, implements, manure, seeds etc.;

IV The state shall be entitled:-

(a) to levy the following charges on the produce of the farm :-

(i) A portion for land revenue;

(ii) A portion to pay the debenture - holders and

(iii) A portion to pay for the use of capital goods supplied; and

(b) to prescribe penalties against tenants who break the conditions of tenancy or willfully neglect to make the best use of the means of cultivation offered by the State or otherwise act prejudicially to the scheme of collective farming;

10. The scheme shall be brought into operation as early as possible but in no case shall the period extend beyond the tenth year from the date of the Constitution coming into operation.

* W. & S. - Vol-I-P-396- 397

The plan set out in the clause proposes State ownership in agriculture with a collectivized method of cultivation and a modified form of State Socialism in the field of industry. It places squarely on the shoulders of the State the obligation to supply capital necessary for agriculture as well as for industry. Without the supply of capital by the State neither land nor industry can be made to yield better results. It also proposes to nationalize, Insurance with a double objective. Nationalized Insurance gives the individual greater security than a private Insurance Firm does in as much as it pledges the resources of the State as a security for the ultimate payment of his insurance money. It also gives the State the resources necessary for financing its economic planning in the absence of which it would have to resort to borrowing from the money market at a high rate of interest. State Socialism is essential for the rapid industrialization of India. Private enterprise cannot do it and if it did it would produce those inequalities of wealth which private capitalism has produced in Europe and which should be a warning to Indians. Consolidation of Holdings and Tenancy Legislation are worse than useless. They cannot bring about prosperity in agriculture. Neither Consolidation nor Tenancy Legislation can be of any help to the 60 millions of Untouchables who are just landless labourers. Neither Consolidation nor Tenancy Legislation can solve their problem. Only collective farms on the lines set out in the proposal can help them. There is no expropriation of the interests concerned. Consequently there ought to be no objection to the proposal on that account.

The plan has two special features. One is that it proposes State Socialism in important fields of economic life. The second special feature of the plan is that it does not leave the establishment of State Socialism to the will of the Legislature. It establishes State Socialism by the Law of the Constitution and thus makes it unalterable by any act of the Legislature and the Executive.

* W. & S. - Vol-I-P.408-409.

8. INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

It will not be enough to make industrial development of India as our goal. We shall have to agree that any such industrial development shall

be maintained at a socially desirable level. It will not be enough to bend our energies for the production of more wealth in India. We shall have to agree not merely to recognize the basic right of all Indians to share in that wealth as a means for a decent and dignified existence but to devise ways and means to insure him against insecurity.

* W. & S. -Vol-10-P-105

...we want industrialization in India as the surest means to rescue the people from the eternal cycle of poverty in which they are caught.

* W. & S. -Vol-10-P-126

To my mind there can be no greater proof necessary to show that India's agriculture has failed and failed miserably when it is as plain as anything could be that India which is engaged in producing nothing but food does not even produce sufficient food to feed its people. What is this due to? The poverty of India, to my mind, is due entirely to its being made dependent upon agriculture.

* W. & S. - Vol-I0-P-126

Nothing can open possibilities of making agriculture in India profitable except a serious drive in favour of industrialization.

* W. & S. Vol-I0-P-127

The problem of reconstruction in India, as I see it, is a problem mainly of the industrialization of India as distinguished from the rehabilitation of industry and industrialization but in the ultimate sense the removal of chronic poverty.

* W. & S. Vol-I0-P-127

It is only rapid and greater industrialization that can give us relief from unemployment .....

* W. & S. Vol - I0-P-342

1. HIS PROPHETIC STATEMENTS.

Prevent India from being divided

"The minorities problem will never be solved unless Mr. Gandhi and the Congress give up their egoistic and insolent attitude towards persons and parties outside the Congress. Patriotism is not a monopoly of Congressmen and persons holding divergent views to the Congress have a perfectly legitimate right to exist and be recognised,".....

.....What the Muslims and the other minorities wanted today was a share in the Government of the country and a status of equality with governing classes. This was being denied by the Congress, which so far had refused to recognise any class or community outside its organisation.

Muslims, had so for been wanting safeguards which meant that given the necessary protection they were prepared to live with the other communities. Today a demand had been raised to divide India into Hindu and Muslim India, and if this attitude was allowed to take hold of the masses, there was no hope of a united India. Today the solutions lay with the Congress and with the majority community, and what were required was large heartedness, statesmanship and the realisation of realities.

".....I hope that wisdom and statesmanship will dawn on the Congress,".... "in time to prevent India from being divided into two parts....."

(New Delhi, October 10,1939..The Times of India, dated 11th October 1939)

* W. & S. Vol-17 (II)-P-314-315

Kashmir Issue

" On the Kashmir issue, the policy adopted by the Congress Government is not acceptable to the Scheduled Castes Federation. This policy if continued will lead to a perpetual enmity between India and Pakistan and the possibility of war between the two countries. The Schecduled Castes Federation believes that it is essential for the good of both countries that they should be good and friendly neighbours. For this purpose the proper policy to adopt towards Pakistan should be based upon two considerations. (1) There should be no talk about the annulment of the partition of India. Partition should be accepted as a settled fact not to be reopened and that the two countries to continue as two separate sovereign States. (2) That, Kashmir to be partitioned- the Muslim area to go to Pakistan (subject to the wishes of the Kashmiries living in the Valley) and the non-Muslim area consisting of Jammu and Laddhak to come to India.

This policy has the best chance of producing friendly relations between the two countries, and the Scheduled Castes Federation will press for its acceptance."

(Election manifesto of SCF——The times of India 3rd October 1951)

* W. & S. Vol-17 (I)-P-396

Chinese Invasion

"Mr. Nehru was dragging India headlong to ruin.....seems to be haunted by the threat of a Chinese invasion. China is on our doorstep and we cannot defend ourselves, he says. It is no use talking about an independent foreign policy without striking power."

(24th November 1951——The National Standard dated 25th November 1951)

* W. & S. Vol-17(II)-P-383

"...by allowing the Chinese to take possession of Lhasa, the Prime Minister has practically helped the Chinese to bring their border down to the Indian border. Looking at all these things, it seems to me that it would be an act of levity not to believe that India, if it is not exposed to aggression right now, is exposed to aggression and that aggression might well be committed by people who always are in the habit of committing aggression.....

The key note of our foreign policy is to solve the problems of the other countries, and not to solve the rproblems of our own. We have here the problem of Kashmir. We have never succeeded in solving it. Everybody seems to have forgotten that it is a problem. But I suppose, some day, we may wake up and find that the ghost is there. And I find that the Prime Minister has launched upon the project of digging a tunnel connecting Kashmir to India. Sir, I think, it is one of the most dangerous things that a Prime Minister could do.....The Prime Minister, in digging the tunnel, thinks that he alone would be able to use it. He does not realise that it can always be a two ways traffic and that a conqueror who comes on the other side and captures Kashmir, can come away straight to pathankot, and probably come into the Prime Minister's house.....

The Panchsheel, as you sir, know it well, is the essential part of the Buddhist religion and if Mr. Mao had any faith in the Pancsheel, he certainly would treat the Buddhists in his own country in a very different way. There is no room for Panchsheel in politics and secondly, not in the politics of a communist country."

* W. & S. - Vol-15-P- 881-882

2. HIS PATRIOTIC STATEMENTS/SAYINGS

Union of Hyderabad with India

"The Scheduled Castes need freedom and their whole movement has been one of freedom. That being so they cannot support the Nizam, who is fighting against freedom.

....."The Scheduled Castes are the children of the soil and India their mother land as much as it is the mother land of any other group. They

must wish and strive for her greatness and fight for her independence and maintain her integrity." "Union of Hyderabad",.... "with India must be insisted upon because the geographical units of India is indestructible and no State can be allowed to violate it. The Nizam deserves no sympathy in opposing union with India. In doing this he is acting against his own interest....All I am anxious about is to see that no person from the Scheduled Castes brings disgrace upon the community for siding with one who is the enemy of India."

* L.F.Y. -P- 4

A united India is better

" I have got not the slightest doubt in my mind as to the future evolution and the ultimate shape of the social, political and economic structure of this great country. I know today we are divided politically, socially and economically. We are a group of warring camps and I may go even to the extent of confessing that I am probably one of the leaders of such a camp. But, sir, with all this, I am quite convinced that given time and circumstances nothing in the world will prevent this country from becoming one. (Applause): With all our castes and creeds, I have not the slightest hesitation that we shall in some form be a united people (Cheers). I have no hesitation in saying that notwithstanding the agitation of the Muslim League for the partition of India some day enough light would dawn upon the Muslims themselves and they too will begin to think that a United India is better even for them. (Loud Cheers and applause)."

* W. & S. -Vol-13- P-9

The Destiny of the Country ought to count for everything

" Power is one thing: wisdom is quite a different thing, and I want this house to consider this matter from the point of view, namely, whether it would be wise, whether it would be statesman like, whether it would be prudent to do so at this stage. The answer that I give is that would not be prudent, it would not be wise. I suggest that another attempt may be made to bring about a solution of the dispute between the Congress and Muslim league. This subject is so vital, so important that I am sure it could never be decided on the mere basis of dignity of one party or the dignity of another party. When deciding the destinies of nations, dignities of people, dignities of leaders and dignities of parties ought to count for nothing. The destiny of the country ought to count for everything."

* W. & S. -Vol-13-P-12

Natural boundary between India and Pakistan

"The danger is that the frontiers between Pakistan and India that are likely to emerge from the labours of the Boundary Commission, however, satisfactory they may be from the standpoint of the communities immediately affected, will be most unsatisfactory from the point of view of India.

If my fears come true and the boundary drawn by the Commission

is not a natural one, it needs no prophet to say that its maintenance will cost the Government of India very dearly and it will put the safety and security of the people of India in great jeopardy. I hope, therefore, that late as it is, the defence Department will bestir itself and do its duty before it is too late".

* W. & S. - Vol - 17 (II) - P- 357

Future generation will acclaim my service to the nation

"At present I am the most hated man in Hindu India. I am represented as a traitor, I am denounced as an enemy of the Hindus, I am cursed as a destroyer of Hinduism, and branded as the greatest enemy of the country. But believe me when I say that, when after some days the dust settles down and a review of the proceedings of the Round Table Conference is dispassionately taken by future historians, the future generations of the Hindus will acclaim my services to the nation."

* W. & S. -Vol-17- (III)-P-81

" I have directed for these many years bitter and virulent attacks on Hindu Society and its numerous evils, but I can assure you that I shall direct attack a hundred-fold more bitter, more virulent, more deadly against the Britishers than I have done against Hindus if my loyalty is going to be exploited for crushing my own people and taking away from them last dry bone from which they draw their sustenence."

* W. & S. -Vol-17-(I)-P-339

Upholded the demand for swaraj

"As regard the Round Table Conference, it was definitely advantageous from the point of view of the Depressed Classes. "As regards myself." "I will demand what is rightful for my people, and I will certainly uphold the demand for Swaraj ."

* W. & S. -Vol-17-(III)-P-64

"We must have a government in which the men in power will give their undivided allegience to the best interest of the country. We must have a government in which men in power knowing where obedience will end and resistance will begin will not be afraid to amend the social and economic code of life which the dictates of justice and expediency so urgently call for. This role the British Government will never be able to play. It is only a Government, which is of the people, for the people and by the people, in other words, it is only the swaraj Government that will make this possible."

* W. & S. -Vol-17-(III)-P-48

....." that is the greatest benefit I am conferring on the country by embracing Buddhism, for Buddhism is a part and parcel of a Bhartiya culture. I have taken care that conversion will not harm the traditions, the culture and history of this land."

* W. & S. - Vol-17(I) -P-xx (Editorial)

" I confess I have many quarrels with the caste Hindus over some points but, I take my vow that I shall lay down my life in defence of our land."

* W. & S. -Vol-17-(I)-P-XX (Editorial)

"We must be determined to defend our Independence to the last drop of blood."

* W. & S. -Vol-17-(I)-P-XXII (Editorial)

3. HIS MESSAGE

" You must have a firm belief in the sacredness of your goal. Noble is your aim and sublime and glorious is your mission. Blessed are those who are awakened to their duty to those among whom they are born. Glory to those who devote their time, talents and their all to the annihilation of slavery. Glory to those who would keep on their struggle for the liberation of the enslaved inspite of heavy odds, carping humiliations, storms and dangers till the down - trodden secure their human rights."

* L. & M. — P - 465

" Whatever I have done, I have been able to do after passing through crushing miseries and endless trouble all my life and fighting with my opponents. With great difficulty I have brought this caravan where it is seen today. Let the Caravan march on despite the hurdles that may come in its way. If my lieutenants are not able to take the caravan ahead they should leave it there, but in no circumstances should they allow the caravan to go back. This is the message to my people."

* L. & M. — P - 494- 495

".....what message should I give you on this occasion ? (Mahar Parishad 30-31.5.1936). I recollected the message given by lord Buddha to his Bhikkhu Sangha just before his Mahaparinirvan. ..... Ananda, I have preached the Dhamma with an open heart, without concealing any thing. The Tathagata has not kept anything concealed as some other teachers do. So, Ananda what more can Thathagata tell the Bhikkhu Sangh ! So Ananda be self illuminating like the sun ! Don't be dependent for the light like the Earth! Believe in yourself. Don't be dependent on other. Be truthful. Always take refuge in the truth and do not surrender to anybody.

..... If you keep in mind this message of Lord Buddha at this juncture I am sure your decision will not be wrong."

* W. & S. - vol - 17(III) - P - 147

" I have not been able to fulfil my life's mission. I wanted to see my people as governing class sharing the political power in terms of equality with other communities..... Whatever I have been able to

achieve is being enjoyed by the educated few, who with their deceitful performance, have proved to be the worthless lot, with no sympathies for their down-trodden brethren. They have surpassed my imagination, they live for themselves and their personal gains. Not one of them is prepared to do social work. They are treading the path of their ruination . I now wanted to divert my attention towards the vast illiterate masses in the villages who continue to suffer and remain almost unchanged economically."

* R & R - P - 191

4. HIS ADVISE

1 - PAY BACK TO THE SOCIETY

" If I fail to do away with the abominable thraldom and inhuman injustice under which the class, into which I was born, has been groaning, I will put an end to my life with a bullet."

* L & M -P-525

" If there is one lesson that you must learn from my life; it is this that I have never disowned my community. I have been proud in sharing their happiness and misery all through life and will continue to do so all my life."

* N & M -P-43

" It is my solemn vow to die in the service and cause of those down-trodden people among whom I was born, I was brought up and I am living. I would not budge an inch from my righteous cause, or care for the violent and disparaging criticism by my detractors."

* W. & S. - Vol. -17 (III) - P - 81

" It has fallen to my lot to be the villain of the piece. But I tell you I shall not deter from my pious duty, and betray the just and legitimate interests of my people even if you hang me on the nearest lamp - post in the street."

* L & M -P-209

" Personally I do not think " there is any work in India which can be said to be nobler than the elevation of Scheduled Castes.....I have always felt that as I have been born among these classes, it is my duty that I should do something for them first..... no others will come to take up this cause and it will remain in the same rotten condition in which it has remained for the last two thousand years.....I have struck to this cause as I regard it as a noble cause."

* W. & S. -Vol-17 (III)-P-347

"the educated, highly educated class, from among the dalits who had betrayed me. I had expected that after acquiring education - higher education - they will serve their down - trodden brothern, but I am

dismayed to see here crowd of clerks who are engaged in feeding their own stomachs."
(18th march 1956, Agra)

* L. F. Y. -P-74

2. ADVISE /MESSAGE TO STUDENTS

" Our boys should learn two things. Firstly, to prove that given the opportunities they are inferior to none in intelligence and in capacity. Secondly to prove that they are not merely to tread the path of personal happiness but to lead their community to be free, to be strong and to be respected."
(Date 20-12-1946,New Delhi)

* W. & S. -Vol-17(II)-P-80

".....all great things in the world were achieved by patient industry and by undergoing toil and tribulations.....one should concentrate one's mind and might on one's goal. Man must eat to live and should live and work for the well-being of society.

....education was a sword and being a double edged weapon, was dangerous to wield. An educated man without character and humility was more dangerous than a beast. If his education was detrimental to the welfare of the poor, ... the educated man was a curse to society. Fire upon such an educated man!" "Character is more important," than education."

* W. & S. -Vol-17(III)-P-193

(Date,12-02-1938, Bombay)

" You should have very able leaders. Your's leaders must have the courage and calibre to match the topmost leaders in any political party. The party without efficient leaders comes to nil.....

In any party, just as the honest leadership which can never be sold is of vital importance, in the same way, devoted workers in the party is the second important thing essential for the growth of the party.....

..... you must have noticed that while a large majority of our students had been interesting themselves in political movements they had not a clear realisation of what politics means, what responsibilities it involves and what methods must be pursued in order to bring political activities to function. There was, as in observe it, a complete dissociation of what we call academics life from the practical problems of life and politics. You will have to do two things:-

1. to enlarge your minds, your vision, your capacity to think your ability to solve problems; and

2. to bring that capacity, that vision, that ability to form judgement to bear upon the actual problems which the vast mass of the people of this country are facing today."

* W. & S. -Vol-17(III)-P-376-77

(Date, 25-09-1947, Bombay)

3. ADVISE TO WOMEN

" I am a great believer in Women's organization. I know what they can do to improve the condition of society if they are convinced. In the eradication of social evils they have rendered great services. I will testify to that from my own experience. Ever since I began to work among the Depressed Classes, I made it a point to carry women along with men. That is why you will see that our conferences are always mixed conferences. I measure the progress of a community by the degree of progress, which women have achieved, and when I see this assembly, I feel both convinced and happy that we have progressed. I shall tell you a few things, which I think you should bear in mind.

Learn to be clean; keep free from all vices. Give education to your children. Instil ambition in them. Inculcate on their minds that they are destined to be great. Remove from them all inferiority complex. Don't be in a hurry to marry: marriage is a liability. You should not impose it upon your children unless financially they are able to meet the liabilities arising from marriage. Those who will marry will bear in mind that to have too many children is a crime. That parental duty lies in giving each child a better start than its parents had. Above all, let each girl who marries stand up to her husband, claim to be her husband's friend and equal, and refuse to be his slave. I am sure if you follow this advise you will bring honour and glory to yourselves and to Depressed Classes."

* W. & S. -Vol-17(III)-P-282-83

(Date,July 1942 D.C conference Nagpur)

4. ADVISE TO HIS FOLLOWERS

(i). Self help, self reliance & self respect

"My heart breaks to see the pitiable sight of your faces and to hear your sad voices. You have been groaning from time immemorial and yet you are not ashamed to hug your helplessness as an inevitability. Why did you not perish in the prenatal stage instead? Why do you worsen and sadden the picture of the sorrows, poverty, slavery and burdens of the world with your deplorable, despicable and detestable miserable life? You had better die and relieve this world if you cannot rise to a new life and if you cannot rejuvenate yourselves. As a matter of fact it is your birthright to get food, shelter and clothing in this land in equal proportion with every individual high or low. If you believe in living a respectable life you **believe in self-help which is the best help.**"

* L & M -P-60

"You must abolish your slavery yourselves. It is disgraceful to live at the cost of one's self-respect. Self-respect is a most vital factor in life. Without it man is a mere cipher. To live worthily with self-respect one has to overcome difficulties. It is out of hard and ceaseless struggle alone that one derives strength, confidence and recongnition..... Man is mortal.

Every one is to die some day or other. But one must resolve to lay down one's life in enriching the noble ideals of self-respect and in bettering human life. We are not slaves. We are a warrior clan. Nothing is more disgraceful for a brave man than to live a life devoid of self-respect and without love for the country."

(Date 13-4-1929 Bombay)

* W. & S. -Vol-17 (III)-P-10-11

"Dragging on life somehow or to live like a crow for a thousand years is not the only and worthy way to live in this world. Life can be ennobled and immortalised by sacrificing it for a lasting good such as the cause of truth, a vow, honour or country. For the protection of human rights several great men have immolated themselves at the altar of duty. Better to die in the prime of youth for a great cause than to live like an oak and do nothing."

* L & M -P-91

" That the caste-system must be abolished if the Hindu Society is to be reconstructed on the basis of equality goes without saying. Untouchability has its roots in the caste-system. They cannot expect the Brahmins to rise in revolt against the caste-system, because that system confers on them certain special privileges and they will not willingly give up their privileged position and the present supremacy in the hierarchy of Hinduism as based on Smrities. It would be too much to expect them to resign all their privileges as the 'Samurais' of Japan did. Also we cannot rely upon the non-Brahmins and ask them to fight our battle. Many of them are still enamoured of the caste-system and are tools in the hands of the Brahmins, and most of these others who resent the supremacy of the Brahmins are more interested in levelling down the Brahmins than in levelling up the suppressed classes. They too want a class of people on whom they can look down and have the satisfaction of not being quite the under-dogs of the society. This means that **we ourselves must fight our battles, relying on ourselves."**
(Date 25-12-1927 Mahad Dist Kolaba)

* W. & S. -Vol-17(I)-P-23

".....we would believe neither the Congress nor the Hindus. **We believe in self-help and self-respect.** We are not prepared to have faith in great leaders and Mahatmas. Let me be brutally frank about it. History tells that Mahatmas, like fleeting phantoms, raise dust, but raise no level."
(Date 6-8-1931 Bombay)

* W. & S. -Vol-17(I)-P-53

" **Learn to live in this world with self-respect.** You should always cherish some ambition to do some-thing in this world. They alone rise who strive. Some of you nurse the wrong notion that you will not rise in this world. But remember that the age of helplessness is ended. A new

epoch has set in. All things are now possible because of your being able to participate in the politics and legislatures of this country."
(Date February 1933 Bombay)

* W. & S. -Vol-17(III)-P-87

(ii) Struggle and struggle, sacrifice and sacrifice

".....greatness can be achieved only by struggle and sacrifice. Neither manhood nor Godhood can be obtained without going through the ordeal of fire. Fire purifies, fire strengthens, so does struggle and suffering. No downtrodden man can achieve greatness unless he is prepared for struggle and suffering. He must be ready to sacrifice the comforts and even the necessities of the present for building up his future.....

.....**My message is struggle, and more struggle, sacrifice and more sacrifice.** It is struggle and struggle alone without counting the sacrifices or sufferings that will bring their emancipation. Nothing else will."

* W. & S. -Vol-17(II)-P-84

".....liberty is never received as a gift; it has to be fought for. Self-elevation is not achieved by the blessing of others but only by one's own struggle and deed."

* L. & M. — P-73

" Lost rights are never regained by begging and by appeals to the conscience of the userpers, but by relentless struggle.' Goats are used for sacrificial offerings and not lions,"

* L. & M. — P-82

(iii). Avoid superstition

" The appearance of Tulsi leaves around your neck,"———"will not relieve you from the clutches of the money lenders. Because you sing songs of Rama, you will not get a concession in rent from the landlords. You will not get salaries at the end of the month because you make pilgrimages every year to Pandharpur. Because the major part of the society is absorbed in these worthless mysteries of life, superstitions and mysticism, the intelligent and self-centered people get ample scope and opportunities to carry out their anti-social designs. "I, therefore, appeal to you," ..... "to act and utilize what little political power is coming into your hands. If you are indifferent and do not try to use it properly, your worries will have no end. Fear lurks in my mind that the slavery, which we are fighting out, may overtake us again."
(Date 9-10-1932)

* W. & S. -Vol-17(III)-P-84

".....we want equality in Hindu religion. The Chaturvarna must be rooted out. The principle that privileges for the higher classes and poverty for the lower classes must end now...

What you have lost," proceeded he, "others have gained. Your

humiliations are a matter of prided with others. You are made to suffer wants, privations and humiliations not because it was preventing-ordained by the sins committed in your previous birth, but because of the overpowering tyranny and treachery of those who are above you. You have no lands because others have usurped them : you have no posts because others have monopolized them. Do not believe in fate. Believe in your strength."

* W. & S. -Vol-17(III)-P-86

(Date,8 feb 1933,)

(iv) Donot depend upon God or Superman

".....you are deifying a common man like you. These ideas of hero-worship will bring ruin on you if you do not nip them in the bud. By deifying an individual, you repose faith for your safety and salvation in one single individual with the result that you get into the habit of dependence and grow indifferent to your duty. If you fall a victim to these ideas, your fate will be no better than logs of wood in the national stream of life. Your struggle will come to naught."

" Do not disregard," ...."the political rights, the new epoch has bestowed upon you. Your whole class was trampled down up-till now because you were filled with ideas of helplessness. I may add that these ideas of hero worship, deification and neglect of duty have ruined Hindu Society and are responsible for the degradation of our country....."

You must abolish your slavery yourselves. Do not depend for its abolition upon God or Superman. Your salvation lies in political powers and not in making pilgrimages and observance of fasts. Devotion to scriptures would not free you from your bondage, want and poverty. Your forefathers have been doing it for generations, but there has been no respite nor even a slight difference in your miserable life in any way. Like your forefathers, you wear rags. Like them, you subsist on thrown out crumbs; like them, you perish in utter slums and hovels ; and like them, you fall easy victims to diseases with a death rate that rages among poultry. Your religious fasts, austerities and penances have not saved you from starvation."

(Date, 4 march 1933, Bombay)

* W. & S. -Vol-17(III)-P-88-89

(V). Be a ruling race

"We must resolve that in a free India of the future we will be a ruling race. We refuse to continue to play a role of subservience or accept a position in which we could be treated as servants, not masters,"

(Date, 31 Jan 1944)

* W. & S. -Vol-17 (III)-P-306

" You should realise what our object is. Our aim and aspiration is to be a governing community. Let all of you bear that in mind and let all of you write it on the walls of your houses so that every day you should

remember that the aspirations which we cherish , and the cause , which we are having is not a cause of a petty character. It is the biggest cause that we are recognised as a Governing Community. If you realise that, you will recognise what tremendous effort we have to make in order to carry it into effect. Mere words will not count, mere resolutions will not count.
(Date 25 Sept. 1944, Madras)

* W. & S. -Vol-17 (III)-P-332

(vi). Capture the power of law making

"It is the duty of the Legislature," to provide for your food, clothes, shelter, education, medicine and all the means of earnings a livelihood. The work of law making and of its execution is to be performed with your consent, help and will. In short, law is the abode of all worldly happiness. You capture the power of law making. It is therefore your duty to divert your attention from fast, worship and penance and apply it to capturing law making power. That way lies your salvation. That way will end your starvation. Remember that it is not enough that a people are numerically in majority. They must be always watchful, strong, well educated and self-respecting to attain and maintain success."
(Date 4 march 1933, Bombay)

* W. & S. -Vol-17 (III)-P-89

" Political power is the key to all social progress and the Scheduled Castes can achieve their salvation if they captured this power by organizing themselves into a third Party and holding the balance of power between the rival political parties-Congress and Socialists.

The Scheduled Castes cannot capture political power by joining the Congress. It is a big organization and if we enter the Congress we will be a mere drop in the ocean. Congressmen have great pride and we cannot raise ourselves by joining the organisation. We will only increase the strength of our enemies by joining the Congress."
(Date, 25 April 1948, Lucknow)

* W. & S. -Vol-17 (III)-P-388-89

".....the Depressed Classes should not believe in the lead of the Congress which was full of surrenders, it was a tool in the hands of the capitalists and those socially indifferent; it never strove to remove these disabilities and to redress their grievances. The remedy lay in their hands and therefore they should capture the political power, which was their life blood. They should develop into a ruling race and guard their rights, otherwise they would remain on paper."

* L. & M. — P-373

(vii). Realise your responsibility

" You look upon me as 'God' but I am not God. I am human being like you all. Whatever help you want from me, I am prepared to give you. I have decided to liberate you from your present hopeless and degraded condition. I am not doing anything for my personal gain. I will continue to

struggle for your upliftment and to make your life useful and meaningful. You must realise your responsibility and follow the path which I am showing you. If you follow it earnestly, it would not be difficult to achieve your goal."

(Date,17 May 1936, Kalyan)

* W. & S.-Vol-17 (III)-P-112

(viii). Do not help the enemies of democracy

"....there lies on us a very heavy duty to see that democracy does not vanish from the earth as a governing principle of human relationship. If we believe in it, then, we must both be true and loyal to it. We must not only be staunch in our faith in democracy but we must resolve to see that in whatever we do, we do not help the enemies of democracy to uproot the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity.

....if democracy lives, we are sure to reap the fruits of it. If democracy dies, it will be our doom. On that there can be no doubt."

(Date,19 July 1942, Nagpur)

* W. & S.-Vol-17 (III)-P-260

(ix). Educate, Agitate and Organise

"With justice on our side, I don't see how we can lose our battle. The battle to me is a matter full of joy. The battle is in the fullest sense spiritual. There is nothing material or sordid in it. For ours is a battle, not for wealth or for power it is a battle for freedom. It is a battle for the reclamation of human personality, which has been suppressed and mutilated by the Hindus social system and will continue to be suppressed and mutilated, if in the political struggle the Hindus win and we lose. My final words of advice to you are educate, agitate and organise, have faith in yourselves and never lose hope. I shall always be with you as I know you will be with me."

(Date, 20 July 1942, Nagpur)"

* W. & S.-Vol-17 (III)-P-275-76

" I have built the house for you and it is for upto you to maintain it in proper order. I have planted the tree, if you water it, you will enjoy the fruits and you will be able to enjoy its shade, if not, you will have to sit in the sun. Our community will be ruined. So every Scheduled Caste should come under the banner of the Scheduled Caste Federation and make it more powerful. Only if we unite, we can achieve something. **United we stand and divided we fall."**

(Date,27 Oct. 1951, Jalandhar)

* W. & S.-Vol-17 (III)-P-421

(x). You must be more intelligent

"....you people always abuse Brahmins; but you never imitate their virtues. Brahmins change their ideas according to the exigencies of the

times. They pursue knowledge and money...Remember! Brahmins have brains within brains. If you want to fight the Brahmins , **you must be more intelligent** than them. You do not unite, instead you fight amongst yourselves and chew the poisonous pill given by the Brahmins- that Mahars are inferior to Marathas."

* C . S- P-63

5. ADVISE/APPEAL TO (SC / ST / OBC)

" The Scheduled Castes Federation would like to work in co-operation with the Backward Classes and the Scheduled Tribes. For they are more or less in the same position as the Scheduled Castes. These classes unfortunately have not developed that degree of political consciousness, which the Scheduled Castes have by reason of political and social activity of the Scheduled Castes Federation during the last twenty years. **The Constitution of Free India has made the Backward Classes, the Scheduled Tribes and the Scheduled Castes virtually the masters of the country**. Hitherto the minority of Caste Hindus have made themselves the rulers of the country. **The fear of the Scheduled Castes Federation is that the Backward Classes and the Scheduled Tribes by reason of their want of consciousness may fall a prey to the minority of caste Hindus and continue to be their slaves instead of becoming masters of their own.** The Scheduled Castes Federation's first concern is to help these Classes to get on their feet. If they so wish, the Scheduled Castes Federation would be prepared to change the name and call itself the Backward Classes Federation so as to include both sections in a common organization. If this is not possible, the Scheduled Castes Federation would be ready and willing to forge a working alliance with such organizations."

(Election manifesto of SCF-1951)

* W. & S.-Vol-17-(I)-P-401

' I them turned to the question of unity between the Scheduled Casted and the so-called Backward Classes. This I did at the request of the leaders of the Backward Classes who were present at the conference. I said it was a pity that the two classes whose needs were common did not join together The reason was that the Backward Classes did not like to associate themselves with the Scheduled Castes because they were afraid that such an association will bring themselves down to the level of the Scheduled Castes.

I said that I was not anxious to establish interdining and inter-marriage between the Scheduled Castes and the Backward Classes. They may well remain separate social entities. There is no reason why they should not join hands to from a political party to remove their backward condition. I pointed out how the Scheduled Castes have improved their condition by playing their part in the politics of the country and there is no reason why the Backward Classes should not do the same.

I said that Scheduled Castes and the Backward Classes form majority of the population of the country. There is no reason why they should not rule this country. All that is necessary is to organize for the purpose of capturing political power, which is your own because of adult suffrage. People do not seem to buck up courage because they are overwhelmed by the belief that the Congress Government is there forever. I said this is a wrong impression. In a popular democracy no government is permanent and not even the Government established by the two of the tallest. Congressmen, Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel. If you organize you can even capture that Government."
(Date 25 Apr. 1948, Lucknow)

* W& S Vol - 17(III) - P - 393

"The Backward Classes had suffered because of their aloofness. They must forge a united front in order to wrest political power from the higher classes. The system of adult franchise had brought political power to the masses and in my opinion if 1.5 crore Scheduled Castes and one crore Backward Classes people in the U.P. join hands against a common target they could return 50% of there members to the legislature and capture political power. I shall have no objection if the Backward Classes form a separate front against higher castes. It is deplorable that the Scheduled Castes and the Backward Classes are not conscious of their power with the result that higher castes were dominating the administration.

You must orgainse yourself under one leader, one party and one programme....."

* W. & S.-Vol-17 (III)-P-390-391

"The Aboriginal Tribes have not as yet developed any political sense to make the best use of their political opportunities and they may easily become mere instruments in the hands either of a majority or a minority and thereby disturb the balance without doing any good to themselves. In the present stage of their development it seems to me that proper thing to do for these Backward Communities is to establish a Statutory Commission to administer what or now called the 'excluded areas' on the same basis ....."
(Date : 6-5-1945)

* W. & S. - Vol-17(III)-P-354

6. ADVISE TO INDIANS

" We must hold fast to constitutional methods of achieving our social and economic objectives. It means that, we must abandon the method of civil disobedience, non-Co-operation and Satyagraha. When there no way left for constitutional methods for achieving economic and social objective, there was a great deal of justification for unconstitutional methods. But where constitutional methods are open there can be no justification for unconstitutional methods, these methods are nothing but the grammer of Anarchy and the sooner they are abondened they better for us ."

* W. & S.-Vol-13-P-1215

"I insist that if I hate Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnaha I dislike them, I do not hate them - it is because I love India more . That is the true faith of a nationalist. "I have hopes that my countrymen will some day learn that the country is greater than the men.", that the worship of Mr. Gandhi or Mr. Jinnah and service to India are two very different things and may even be contradictory to each other."

* W. & S. - Vol-1-P-209

5. HIS WARNINGS

WARNINGS TO HIS FOLLOWERS

Avoid to form political party with Brahmins

".....I want to ask you, can the snake and the mongoose (Ichneumon) live together. Can cat co-operate with the rat? Can elephant live with 'Birree'? Certainly, if the snake wants to mix up with the mongoose (Ichneumon) and make any profit out of it, it is mistaken. Moongoose will eat up the snake. Rat will be swallowed by the cat, if it wants to join hands with the cat. Similarly, elephant cannot enjoy the life with 'Birree". Mongoose is the enemy of the snake, cat is the enemy of rat and 'Birree' is the enemy of the elephant. They cannot form a joint company.

.....Bania (Moneylender) will always try to extract what it can out of the poor people. Brahmins will never show sympathy for the poor Scheduled Castes and if they did so there will be nobody to serve them..... if we form a party of the snake, mongoose , cat , rat, elephant and 'Birree' will the snake, rat and elephant be safe there? Certainly not. They will always be at the mercy of their masters. Similarly, if the Depressed Classes join hands with the Brahmins and form a political party, do you think that the Depressed Classes will be safe there? I warn you to be careful and give fullest consideration to this matter. You should not be caught in the net spread by the Congress. If you think that by joining hands with the high caste people you will be better off, then you are mistaken. The high caste people will always suppress the Backward Classes. High caste people will enjoy the freedom whereas our people will remain as they are. Poor people can never flourish under the rich and must unite separately to achieve their purpose."

* W. & S.-Vol-17-(III) -P-441-442

Avoid ideas of Hero worshiping

"..... a society which idolized and raised a mere man to the level of God was set well on the path of destruction."

* L. & M. — P - 347

"..... ideas of hero -worship will bring ruin on you if you do not nip them in the bud. By defying an individual, you repose faith for your safety and salvation in one single individual with the result that you get into the habit of dependence and grow indifferent to your duty. If you fall a victim

to these ideas, your fate will be no better than logs of wood in the national stream of life. Your struggle will come to naught."

* L. & M. — P- 234

Shamelessly betrayed

" The non-Brahmins have effaced the memory of Jyotiba Phule completely. Not only that but that class has shamelessly betrayed his philosophy."

* C.S.- P - 64

Hindu Raj must be prevented at any cost

" If Hindu Raj does become a fact, it will, no doubt, be the greatest calamity for this country. No matter what the Hindus say, Hinduism is a menace to liberty, equality and fraternity. On that account it is incompatible with democracy. Hindu Raj must be prevented at any cost."

* W& S - vol - 8 - P - 358

"..... only when Hindu society becames a casteless society that it can hope to have strength enough to defend itself. Without such internal strength, Swaraj for Hindus may turn out to be only a step towards slavery."

* W&S - Vol -1- P - 80

WARNING TO INDIANS

Will history repeat itself ?

" On 26th January 1950, India will be an Independent Country. What would happen to her independence? Will she maintain her independence or will she lose it again ? This is the first thought that comes to my mind. It is not that India was never an independent country. The point is that she once lost the independence she had. Will she lose it a second time? It is this thought which makes me most anxious for the future. What perturbs me greatly is the fact that not only India has once before lost her independence, but she lost it by the infidelity and treachery of some of her own people. In the invasion of Sind by Mohammad-bin-Kasim, the military commanders of king Dahar accepted bribes from the agents of Mohammad-Bin-Kasim and refused to fight on the side of their King. It was Jaichand who invited Mohammad Ghori to invade and fight against Prithiviraj and promised him the help of himself, and the Solanki Kings. When Shivaji was fighting for the liberation of Hindus, the other Maratha nobleman and Rajput kings were fighting the battle on the side of Moghul Emperiors. When the British were trying to destroy the Sikh Ruler Gulab Singh, their Principal Commander sat silent and did not help to save the Sikh Kingdom. In 1857 when a large part of India had declared a war of Independence against the British, the Sikhs stood and watched the event as silent spectators .

Will history repeat itself? It is this thought which fills me with anxiety.

This anxiety is deepended by the realization of the fact that in addition to our old enemies in the form of castes and creeds we are going to have many political parties with diverse and opposing political creeds. Will Indians place the country above their creed or will they place creed above country? I do not know, but this much is certain that if the parties place creed above country, our independence will be put in jeopardy a second time and probably be lost for ever. This eventually we must all resolutely guard against. We must be determined to defend our independence with the last drop of our blood (Cheers)."

* W. & S.-Vol-13-P-1213-1214

Democratic system India lost, will she lose it a second time?

" On the 26th January 1950, India would be a democratic country in the sense that India from that day would have a government of the people, by the people and for the people. The same thought comes to my mind what would happen to her democratic constitution? Will she be able to maintain it or will she lose it again. This is the second thought that comes to my mind and makes me as anxious as the first.

It is not that India did not know what is Democracy. There was a time when India was studded with republics and even where there monarchies, they were either elected or limited. They were never absolute. It is not that India did not know parliament or parliamentary procedure. A study of the Buddhist Bhikshus Sanghas discloses that not only there were parliaments- for the Sanghas were nothing but parliaments, but the Sanghas knew and observed all the rules of parliamentary procedures known to modern times. They had rules regarding seating arrangements, rules regarding Motions, Resolutons, Quorum, Whip, Counting of votes, voting by Ballot, censure Motion, Regularisation, Res Judicata, etc. although these rules of parliamentary procedure were applied by the Buddha to the meetings of the Sanghas, he must have borrowed them from the rules of the Political Assemblies functioning in the country in his time.

This democratic system India lost, will she lose it a second time? I do not know, but it is quite possible in a country like India- where democracy from its long disuse must be regarded, as something quite new - there is danger of democracy giving place to dictatorship. It is quite possible for this new born democracy to retain its from but give place to dictatorship in fact. If there is a landslide, the danger of the second possibility becoming actuality is much greater."

* W. & S.-Vol-13-P-1214-1215

How long shall we continue to deny equality ..... ?

" On 26th January 1950, we are going to enter into a life of contradictions. In politics we will have equality and in social and economic l fe we will have inequality. In politics we will be recognizing the pri

ciple of one-man one vote and one vote one value. In our social and economic life, we shall by reason of our social and economic structure continue to deny the principle of one-man one value. How long shall we continue to live this life of contradictions ? How long shall we continue to deny equality in our social and economic life ? If we continue to deny it for long, we will do so only by putting our political democracy in peril. We must remove this contradiction at the earliest possible moment or else those who suffer from inequality will blow up the structure of political democracy which this Assembly has so labouriously built up.

* W. & S.-Vol-13-P-1216

We must not be content with mere political democracy

..... we must do is not be content with mere political democracy . We must make our political democracy a social democracy as well. Political democracy cannot last unless there lies at the base of it social democracy. What does social democracy mean ? It means a way of life which recognizes liberty, equality and fraternity as the principles of life . These principles of liberty, equality and fraternity are not to be treated as separate items in a trinity. They form a union of trinity in the sense that to divorce one from the other is to defeat the very purpose of democracy. Liberty cannot be divorced from equality, equality cannot be divorced from liberty . Nor can liberty and equality he divorced from fraternity . Without equality, liberty would produce the supremacy of the few over the many. Equality without liberty would kill individual initiative . Without fraternity, liberty and equality could not become a natural course of things."

* W. & S.-Vol-13-P-1216

Down - trodden classes must be allowed to govern themselves

" These are my reflections about the tasks that lie ahead of us. They may not be very pleasant to some. But there can be no gainsaying that political power in this country has too long been the monopoly of a few and the many are not only beasts of burden, but also beasts of prey. This monopoly has not merely deprived them of their chance of betterment, it has sapped them of what may be called the significance of life. These down - trodden classes are tired of being governed. They are impatient to govern themselves. This urge for self-realization in the down - trodden classes must not be allowed to develop into a class struggle or class war. It would lead to a division of the House. That would indeed be a day of disaster. For, as has been well said by Abraham Lincoln, a house divided against itself can not stand very long. Therefore the sooner room is made for the realization of their aspiration the better for the maintenance for its independence and the better for the continuance of its democratic structure. This can only be done by the establishment of equality and fraternity in all spheres of life. That is why I have laid so much stress on them."

* W. & S.-Vol-13-P-1217

Have Government for the people

" But let us not forget that this independence has thrown us great responsibilities. By Independence, we have lost the excuse of blaming the British for anything going wrong. If here after things go wrong, we will have nobody to blame except ourselves. There is great danger of things going wrong. Times is fast changing, people including our own are being moved by new ideologies. They are getting tired of government by the people, they are prepared to have Government for the people and are indifferent whether it is Government of the people and by the people. If we wish to preserve the Constitution in which we have sought to enshrine the principle of Government of the people, for the people and by the people, let us resolve not to be tardy in the recognition of the evils that lie across our path and which induce people to prefer Government for the people to Government by the people, nor to be weak in our initiative to remove them. That is the only way to serve the country."

* W. & S.-Vol-13-P-1218

1. WAITING FOR A VISA

" Foreigners of course know of the existence of untouchability. But not being next door to it, so to say, they are unable to realize how oppressive it is in its actuality. It is difficult for them to understand how it is possible for a few Untouchables to live on the edge of a village consisting of a large number of Hindus, go through the village daily to free it from the most disagreeable of its filth and to carry the errands of all and sundry, collect food at the doors of the Hindus, buy spices and oil at the shops of the Hindu Bania from a distance, regard the village in every way as their home, and yet never touch nor be touched by any one belonging to the village. The problem is how best to give an idea of the way the Untouchables are treated by the caste Hindus. A general description or a record of cases of the treatment accorded to them are the two methods by which this purpose could be achieved. I have felt that the latter would be more effective than the former. In choosing these illustrations I have drawn partly upon my own experience and partly upon the experience of others. I begin with events that have happened to me in my life."

* W.&.S.-Vol-12-P-663

2. UNTOUCHABLES AND HINDU CARTMAN

" Our family came originally from Dapoli Taluka of the Ratnagiri District of the Bombay Presidency. From the very commencement of the rule of the East India Company my forefathers had left their hereditary occupation for service in the army of the Company. My father also followed the family tradition and sought service in the Army. He rose to the rank of an officer and was a Subedar when he retired. On his retirement my father took the family to Dapoli with a view to settling down there. But for some reasons my father changed his mind. The family left Dapoli for Satara where we lived till 1904. The first incident which I am recording, as well as I can remember, occurred in about 1901 when we were at Satara. My mother was then dead. My father was away on service as a cashier at a place called Koregaon in Khatav Taluka in Satara District, where the Government of Bombay had started the work of excavating a Tank for giving employment to famine stricken people who were dying by thousands. When my father went to Koregaon he left me, my brother who was older than my self and two sons of my eldest sister who was dead, in charge of my aunt and some kind neighbours. My aunt was the kindest soul I know, but she was of no help to us. She was somewhat of a dwarf and had some trouble with her legs, which made it very difficult for her to move about without the aid of some body. Often times she had to be lifted. I had sisters. They were married and were away living with their families. Cooking our food became a problem with us especially as our aunt could not, on account of her helplessness, manage the job.We four children went to school and we also cooked our food. We could not prepare bread, so we lived on pulav, which we found to be the easiest dish to prepare, requiring nothing more than mixing rice and mutton.

Being a cashier my father could not leave his station to come to Satara to see us, therefore he wrote us to come to Koregaon and spend our summer vacation with him. We children were thoroughly excited over the prospect especially as none of us upto that time seen a railway train.

Great preparations were made. New shirts of English make, bright bejeweled caps, new shoes, new silk-bordered dhoties were ordered for the journey. My father had given us all particulars regarding our journey and told us to inform on which day we were starting so that he would send his peon to the Railway Station to meet us and to take us to Koregaon. According to this arrangement myself, my brother and one of my sister's sons left Satara, our aunt remaining in charge of our neighbors who promised to look after her. The Railway Station was 10 miles distant from our place and a tonga (a one-horse carriage) was engaged to take us to the Station. We were dressed in the new clothing specially made for the occasion, and we left our home full of joy but amidst the cries of my aunt who was almost prostrate with grief at our parting.

When we reached the station my brother bought tickets and gave me and my sister's son two annas each as pocket money to be spent at our pleasure. We at once began our career of riotous living and each ordered a bottle of lemonade at the start. After a short while the train whistled in and we boarded it as quickly as we could for fear of being left behind. We were told to detrain at Masur, the nearest Railway Station for Koregaon.

The train arrived at Masur at about 5 in the evening and we got down with our luggage .In a few minutes all the passengers who had got down from the train had gone away to their destination. We poor children remained on the platform looking out for my father or his servant whom he had promised to send. Long did we wait but no one turned up. An hour elapsed and the Station Master came to enquire. He asked us for our tickets. We showed them to him. He asked us why we tarried. We told him that we were bound for Koregaon and that we were waiting for father or his servant to come but that neither had turned up and that we did not know how to reach Koregaon. We were well-dressed children. From our dress or talk no one could make out that we were children of the Untouchables. Indeed the Station Master was quite sure that we were Brahmin children and was extremely touched at the plight in which he found us. As is usual among the Hindus the Station Master asked us who we were. Without a moment's thought I blurted out that we were Mahars. (Mahar is one of the communities, which are treated as Untouchables in the Bombay Presidency)'. He was stunned. His face underwent a sudden change. We could see that he was over-powered by a strange feeling of repulsion. As soon as he heard my reply he went away to his room and we stood where we were. Fifteen to twenty minutes elapsed: the sun was almost setting. The father had not turned up nor had he sent his servant, and now the Station Master had also left us. We were quite bewildered and the joy and happiness, which we felt at the beginning of the journey, gave way to the feeling of extreme sadness.

After half an hour the Station Master returned and asked us what we proposed to do. We said that if we could get a bullock-cart on hire we

would go to Koregaon and if it were not very far we would like to start straightway. There were many bullock carts plying for hire. But my reply to the Station Master that we were Mahars had gone round among the cartmen and not one of them was prepared to suffer being polluted and to demean himself carrying passengers of the Untouchable classes. We were prepared to pay double the fare but we found that money did not work. The stationmaster who was negotiating on our behalf stood silent not knowing what to do. Suddenly a thought seemed to have entered his head and he asked us; "Can you drive the cart?" Feeling that he was finding out a solution of our difficulty we shouted: "Yes, we can". With that answer he went and proposed on our behalf that we were to pay the cartmen double the fare and drive the cart and that he should walk on foot along with the cart on our journey. One cartmen agreed as it gave him an opportunity to earn his fare and also saved him from being polluted.

It was a bout 6.30 p.m. when we were ready to start. But we were anxious not to leave the station until we were assured that we could reach Koregaon before it was dark. We therefore questioned the cartman as to the distance and the time he would take to reach Koregaon. He assured us that it would be not more than 3 hours. Believing in his word, we put our luggage in the cart, thanked the Station Master and got into the cart. One of us took the reins and the cart started with the man walking by our side.

Not very far from the station there flowed a river. It was quite dry except at places where there were small pools of water. The owner of the cart proposed that we should halt there and have our meals, as we might not get water on our way. We agreed. He asked us to give a part of his fare to enable him to go to the village and have his meal. My brother gave him some money and he left promising to return soon. We were very hungry and were glad to have had an opportunity to have a bite. My aunt had pressed our neighbour's women folk into service and had got some nice preparations for us to take on our way. We opened tiffin basket and started eating. We needed water to wash things down. One of us went to the pool of water in the river basin nearby. But the water really was no water. It was thick with mud and urine and excreta of the cows and buffalos and other cattle who-went to the pool for drinking. Infact that water was not intended for human use. At any rate the stinch of the water was so strong we could not drink it. We had therefore to close our meals before we were satisfied and wait for the arrival of the cartman. He did not come for a long time and all that we could do was to look for him in all directions. Ultimately he came and we started on our journey. For some four or five miles we drove the cart and he walked on foot. Then he suddenly jumped into the cart and took the reins from our hand. We thought this to be rather a strange conduct on the part of the man who had refused to let the cart on hire for fear of pollution to have set aside all his religious scruples and to have consented to sit with us in the same cart but we dared not ask him any question on the point. We were anxious to reach Koregaon our destination as quickly as possible . And for some time we were interested in the movement of the cart only. But soon there was darkness all around us. There were no streetlights to relieve the darkness. There were no men or

women or even cattle passing by to make us feel that we were in their midst. We became fearful of the loneliness, which surrounded us. Our anxiety was growing. We mustered all the courage we possessed. We had travelled far from Masur. It was more than three hours. But there was no sign of Koregaon. There arose a strange thought within us. We suspected that the cartman intended treachery and that he was taking us to some lonely spot to kill us. We had lot of gold ornaments on us and that helped to strengthen our suspicion. We started asking him how far Koregaon was, why we were so late in reaching it. He kept on saying: "It is not very far, we shall soon reach it". It was about. 10.00 at night) when finding that there was no trace of Koregaon we children started crying and abusing the cartmen. Our lamentations and wailing continued for long. The cart-man made no reply. Suddenly we saw a light burning at some distance. The cart-man said: "Do you see that light? That is a light of the Toll Collector. We will rest there for the night". We felt some relief and stopped crying. The light was distant, but we could never seem to reach it. It took us two hours to reach the Toll Collectors hut. The interval increased our anxiety and we kept on asking the cart man all sorts of questions, as to why there was delay in reaching the place, whether we were going on the same road, etc.

Ultimately by mid-night the cart reached the Toll Collector's hut. It was situated at the foot of a hill but on the other side of the hill. When we arrived we saw a large number of bullock carts there all resting for the night. We were extremely hungry and wanted very much to eat. But again there was the question of water. So we asked our driver whether it was possible to get water. He warned us that the Toll Collector was a Hindu and that there was no possibility of our getting water if we spoke the truth and said that we were Mahars. He said,

"Say you are Mohammedans and try your luck". On his advice I went to the Toll Collector's hut and asked him if he would give us some water. "Who are you?", he inquired. I replied that we were Musalmans. I conversed with him in Urdu, which I knew very well so as to leave no doubt that I was a real Musalman. But the trick did not work and his reply was very curt. "Who has kept water for you? There is water on the hill, if you want to go and get it, I have none." With this he dismissed me. I returned to the cart and conveyed to my brother his reply. I don't know what my brother felt. All that he did was to tell us to lie down.

The bullocks had been unyoked and the cart was placed sloping down on the ground. We spread our beds on the bottom planks inside the cart and laid down our bodies to rest. Now that we had come to a place of safety we did not mind what happened. But our minds could not help turning to the latest event. There was plenty of food with us. There was hunger burning within us; with all this we were to sleep without food; that was because we could get no water because we were Untouchables. Such was the last thought that entered our mind. I said we had come to a place of safety. Evidently my elder brother had his misgivings. He said it was not wise for all four of us to go to sleep. Any thing might happen. He suggested that at one time two should sleep and two should keep watch. So we spent the night at the foot of that hill.

Early at 5 in the morning our cart man came and suggested that we should start for Koregaon. We flatly refused, we told him that we would not move until 8 o' clock. We did not want to take any chance. He said nothing. So we left at 8 and reached Koregaon at 11. My father was surprised to see us and said that he had received no intimation of our coming. We protested that we had given intimation. He denied the fact. Subsequently It was discovered that the fault was of my father's servant. He had received our letter but failed to give It to my father. This incident has a very important place in my life. I was a boy of nine when it happened. But It has left an indelible impression on my mind. Before this incident occurred, I knew that I was an Untouchable and that Untouchables were subjected to certain indignities and discrimination. For instance I knew that in the school I could not sit in the midst of my class students according to my rank but that I was to sit in a corner by myself. I knew that in the school I was to have a separate piece of gunny cloth for me to squat on in the class room and the servant employed to clean the school would not touch the gunny cloth used by me. I was required to carry the gunny cloth home in the evening and bring it back the next day. While in the school I knew that children of the touchable classes when they felt thirsty could go out to the water tap, open it and quench their thirst. All that was necessary was the permission of the teacher. But my position was separate. I could not touch the tap and unless it was opened for me by a touchable person it was not possible for me to quench my thirst. In my case the permission of the teacher was not enough. The presence of the school peon was necessary for he was the only person whom the class teacher could use for such a purpose. If the peon was not available I had to go without water. The situation can be summed up in the statement - no peon, no water. At home I knew that the work of washing clothes was done by my sisters. Not that there were no washermen in Satara. Not that we could not afford to pay the washermen. Washing was done by my sisters because we were Untouchables and no washerman would wash the clothes of an Untouchable. The work of cutting the hair or shaving the boys including myself was done by our elder sister who had become quite an expert barber by practising the art on us, not that there were no barbers in Satara, not that we could not afford to pay the barber. The work of shaving and hair cutting was done by my sister because we were Untouchables, and no barber would consent to shave an Untouchable. All this I knew. But this incident gave me shock such as I never received before, and it made me think about untouchability which, before this incident happened, was with me a matter of course as it is with many touchable as well as the Untouchables."

* W&S-Vol-12-p-665-671

3. THE UNTOUCHABLES AND HINDU TONGAWALLA

" The year was 1929. The Bombay Government had appointed a Committee to investigate the grievances of the Untouchables. I was appointed a member of the Committee. The Committee had to tour all

over the province to investigate into the allegations of injustice, oppression and tyranny. The Committee split up. I and another member were assigned the two districts of Khandesh. My colleague and myself after finishing our work parted company. He went to see some Hindu saint. I left by train to go to Bombay. At Chalisgaon I got down to go to a village on the Dhulia line to investigate a case of social boycott which had been declared by the caste Hindus against the Untouchables of that village. The Untouchables of Chalisgaon came to the station and requested me to stay for the night with them. My original plan was to go straight to Bombay after investigating the case of social boycott. But as they were keen I agreed to stay over night. I boarded the train for Dhulia to go to the village, went there and informed myself of the situation prevailing in the village and returned by the next train to Chalisgaon.

I found the Untouchables of Chalisgaon waiting for me at the station. I was garlanded. The Maharwada. The quarters of the Untouchables, is about 2 miles from the Railway Station and one has to cross a river on which there is a culvert to reach it. There were many horse carriages at the station plying for hire. The Maharwada was also within walking distance from the station. I expected immediately to be taken to the Maharwada. But there was no movement in that direction and I could not understand why I was kept waiting. After an hour or so a tonga (one horse carriage) was brought close to the platform and I got in. The driver and I were the only two occupants of the tonga. Others went on foot by a short cut. The tonga had not gone 200 paces when there would have been a collision with a motor-car. I was surprised that the driver who was paid for hire every day should have been so inexperienced. The accident was averted only because on the loud shout of the policeman the driver of the car pulled it back. We somehow came to the culvert on the river. On it there are no walls as there are on a bridge. There is only a row of stones fixed at a distance of five or ten feet. It is paved with stones. The culvert on the river is at right angles to the road we were coming by. A sharp turn has to be taken to come to the culvert from the road. Near the very first side stone of the culvert the horse instead of going-straight took a turn and bolted. The wheel of the tonga sturck against the side stone so forcibly that I was bodily lifted up and thrown down on the stone pavement of the culvert and the horse and the carriage fell down from the culvert into the river. So heavy was the fall that I lay down senseless. The Maharwada is just on the other bank of the river. The men who had come to greet me at the station had reached there ahead of me. I was lifted and taken to the Maharwada amidst the cries and lamentations of men, women and children. As a result of this I received several injuries. My leg was fractured and I was disabled for several days. I could not understand how all this happened. The tonga pass and repass the culvert every day and never has a driver failed to take the tonga safely over the culvert.

On inquiry I was told the real facts. The delay at the "Railway Station was due to the fact that the tongawalas were not prepared to drive the tonga with a passenger who was an Untouchable. It was beneath their dignity. The Mahars could not tolerate that I should walk to their quarters. It was not in keeping with their sense of my dignity. A compromise was

therefore arrived at. That compromise was to this effect: the owner of the tonga would give the tonga on hire but not drive. The Mahars may take the tonga but find someone to drive. The Mahars thought this to be a happy solution. But they evidently forgot that the safety of the passenger was more important than the maintenance of his dignity. If they had thought of this they would have considered whether they could get a driver who could safely conduct me to my destination. As a matter of fact none of them could drive because it was not their trade. They therefore asked someone from amongst themselves to drive. The man took the reins in his hand and started thinking that there was nothing in it. But as he got on he felt his responsibility and became so nervous that he gave up all attempts to control. To save my dignity the Mahars of Chalisgaon had out my very life in jeopardy. It is then I learnt that a Hindu tongawalla, no better than a menial, has a dignity by which he can look upon himself as a person who is superior to all Untouchables even though he may be as a Barrister-at-law."

W&S-Vol-12-P-679-681

4. THE UNTOUCHABLE AND THE PARSIS

" In 1916 I returned to India. I had been sent to America by His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda for higher education. I studied at Columbia University in New York from 1913 to 1917. In 1917 I came to London and joined the postgraduate department of the School of Economics of the University of London. In 1918 I was obliged to return to India without completing my studies. As I was educated by the Baroda State I was bound to serve the State. Accordingly on my arrival I straightway went to Baroda. The reason why I left Baroda service is quite irrelevant to my present purpose. I do not therefore wish to enter into them. I am only concerned with my social experiences in Baroda. And I will confine myself to describing them.

My five years of stay in Europe and America had completely wiped out of my mind any consciousness that I was an Untouchable and that an Untouchable whenever he went in India was a problem to himself and to others. But when I came out of the station my mind was considerably disturbed by a question "where to go? Who will take me?" I felt deeply agitated. Hindu hotels, called Vishis, I knew, there were. They would not take me. The only way of seeking accommodation therein was by impersonation. But I was not prepared for it because I could well anticipate the dire consequences which were sure to follow if my identity was discovered as it was sure to be. I had friends in Baroda who had come to America for study. "Would they welcome me if I went?" I could not assure myself. They may feel embarrassed by admiting an Untouchable in their household. I stood under the roof of the station for sometime thinking where to go what to do. It then struck me to enquire if there was any place in the camp. All passengers had by this time gone. I alone was left. Some hackney drivers who had failed to pick up any traffic were watching and waiting for me. I called one of them and asked him if he knew if there was

a hotel in the camp. He said that there was a Parsi inn and that they took paying guests; Hearing that it was an inn maintained by the Parsis my heart was gladdened. The Parsis are followers of the Zoroastrian religion. There was no fear of my being treated by them as an Untouchable because their religion does not recognize untouchability. With a heart glad with hope and a mind free from fear I put my luggage in a hackney carriage and asked the driver to drive me to the Parsi inn in the camp.

The inn was a two storeyed building on the ground floor on which lived an old Parsi with his family. He was a caretaker and supplied food to tourists who came there to stay. The carriage arrived and the Parsi caretaker showed me upstairs. I went up while the carriage driver brought up my luggage. I paid him and he went away. I felt happy that after all I had solved my problem of finding a sojourn. I was undressing as I wanted to be at ease. In the meantime the caretaker came with a book in his hand. Seeing as he could well see from my half undressed state that I had no Sadra and Kasti, the two things which prove that one is a Parsi, in a sharp tone, he asked me, "who I was?" Not knowing that this inn was maintained by the Parsi community for the use of Parsis only, I told him that I was a Hindu. He was shocked and told me that I could not stay in the inn. I was thoroughly shocked by his answer and was cold.all over. The question returned again where to go? 'Composing myself I told him that though a Hindu I had no objection to staying there if he had no objection. He replied. "How can you? I have to maintain a register of all those who stay here in the inn." I saw his difficulty. I said I could assume a Parsi name for the purpose of entering it in the register. "Why do you object if I do not object, you will not lose. You will earn something if I stay here." I could see that he was inclined favourably. Evidently he had no tourist for a long time and he did not like to forego the opportunity of making a little money. He agreed on condition that I pay him a rupee and a half per day for board and lodging and entered myself as a Parsi in his register. He went downstairs and I heaved a sigh of relief. The problem was solved and I felt very happy. But alas! I did not then know how short was to be this happiness. But before I describe the tragic end of my stay in this inn I must describe how I passed my time during the short period I lived therein.

The inn on the first floor had a small bedroom and adjoining it was one small bathroom with a water tap in it. The rest was one big hall. At the time of my stay the big hall was filled up with all sorts of rubbish, planks, benches, broken chairs, etc. In the midst of the surroundings I lived a single solitary individual. The caretaker came up in the morning with a cup of tea. He came again at about 9.30 with my breakfast or morning meal. A third time he came up at about 8.30 in the evening with my dinner. The caretaker came up only when he could not avoid it and on these occasions he never stayed to talk to me. The day was spent somehow.

I was appointed a probationer in the Accountant General's Office by the Maharaja of Baroda. I used to leave the inn at about 10 a.m. for the office and return late at about 8 in the evening contriving to while away outside the inn as much time in company of friends as I could. The idea of

returning to the inn to spend the night therein was most terrifying to me and I used to return to the inn only because I had no other place under the sky to go for rest. In this big hall on the first floor of the inn there were no fellow human beings to talk to. I was quite alone. The whole hall was enveloped in complete darkness. There were no electric lights or even oil lamps to relieve the darkness. The caretaker used to bring up for my use a small hurricane lamp. Its light could not extend beyond a few inches. I felt that I was in a dungeon and I longed for the company of some human being to talk to. But there was none. In the absence of the company of human beings I sought the company of books and read and read. Absorbed in reading I forgot my lonely condition. But the chirping and flying about of the bats, which had made the hall their home, often distracted my mind and sent cold shivers through me reminding me of what I was endeavouring to forget, that. I was in a strange place under strange conditions. Many a time I must have been angry. But subdued my grief and my anger by the feeling that though it was a dungeon it was a shelter and that some shelter was better than no shelter. So heart-rending was my condition that when my sister's son came from Bombay bringing my remaining luggage which I had left behind and when he saw my state began to cry so loudly that I had to send him back immediately. In this state I lived in the Parsi inn impersonating a Parsi. I knew that I could no long continue this impersonation, as I would be discovered some day. I was therefore trying to get a State bungalow to stay in. But the Prime Minister did not look upon my request with the same urgency. My petition went from officer to officer and before I got the final reply the day of my doom arrived.

It was 11th day of my stay in the Inn. I had taken my morning meal and had dressed up and was about to step out of my room to go to office. As I was picking up some books, which I had borrowed, overnight for returning them to the library I heard footsteps of a considerable number of people coming up the staircase. I thought they were tourists who had come to stay and was therefore looking out to see who these friends were. Instantly I saw a dozen angry looking tall, sturdy Parsis each armed with a stick, coming towards my room. I realized that they were not fellow tourists and they gave proof of it Immediately. They lined up in front of my room and fired a volley of questions. "Who are you? Why did you come here? How dare you take Parsi name? You scoundrel! You have polluted the Parsi inn!" I stood silent. I could give no answer. I could not persist in impersonation. It was infact a fraud and the fraud was discovered. I am sure if I had persisted in the game, I was playing, I would have been assaulted by the mob of angry and fanatic Parsis and probably doomed to death. My meekness and my silence averted this doom. One of them asked when I thought of vacating. At that time my shelter I prized more than my life. The threat implied in this question was a grave one. I therefore broke my silence and implored them to let me stay for a week at least, thinking that my application to the Minister for a bungalow would be decided upon favourably in the meantime. But the Parsis were in no mood to listen. They issued an ultimatum. They must not find me in the inn in the evening. I must pack off. They held out dire consequences and left. I was bewildered. My heart sank within me. I cursed all and wept bitterly. After all I was

deprived of my precious possession namely my shelter. It was no better than a prisoner's cell. But it was to me very precious.

After the Parsis were gone I sat for some time engaged in thinking to find a way out. I had hopes that I would soon get a State bungalow and my troubles would be over. My problem was therefore a temporary problem and I thought that going to friends would be a good solution. I had no friends among the Untouchables of Baroda State. But I had friends among other classes. One was a Hindu, the other was an Indian Christian. I first went to my Hindu friend and told him what had befallen me. He was a noble soul and a great personal friend of mine. He was sad and also indignant. He, however, let fall one observation. He said, "If you come to my home my servants will go". I took the hint and did not press him to accommodate me. I did not like to go to the Indian Christian friend. Once he had invited me to go and stay with him. But I had declined preferring to stay in the Parsi Inn. My reason was that his habits were not congenial to me. To go now would be to invite a rebuff. So I went to my office but I could not really give up this chance of finding a shelter. On consulting a friend I decided to go to him and ask him if he would accommodate me. When I put the question his reply was that his wife was coming to Baroda the next day and that he would have to consult her. I learnt subsequently that it was a very diplomatic answer. He and his wife came originally from a family which was Brahmin by caste and although on conversion to Christianity the husband had become liberal in thought, the wife had remained orthodox in her ways and would not have consented to harbour an Untouchable in her house. The last ray of hope thus flickered away. It was 4 p.m. when I left the house of my Indian Christian friend. Where to go was the one supreme question before me. I must quit the Inn and had no friend to go to!! The only alternative left was to return to Bombay.

The train to Bombay left Baroda at 9 p.m. There were five hours to be spent. Where to spend them? Should I go to the inn? Should I go to my friend? I could not buck up sufficient courage to go back to the inn. I feared the Parsis might come and attack me. I did not like to go to my friend. Though my condition was pitiable I did not like to be pitied. I decided to spend the five hours in the public garden which is called Kamathi Baug, on the border of the city and the camp. I sat there partly with a vacant mind. Partly with sorrow at the thought of what had happned to me, and thought of my father and mother as children do when they are in a forlorn condition. At 8 p.m. I came out of the garden, took a carriage to the Inn, brought down my luggage. The caretaker came out but neither he nor I could utter a word to each other, He felt that he was in some way responsible for bringing him in the trouble . I paid him his bill. He received it in silence and I took his leave in silence. I had gone to Baroda with high hope. I had given up many offers. It was war time. Many places in the Indian educational service were vacant. I knew very Influential people in London. But I did not seek any of them. I felt that my duty was to offer my services first to the Maharaja of Baroda who had financed my education. And here I was driven to leave Baroda and return to Bombay after a stay of only eleven days.

This scene of a dozen Parsis armed with sticks lined before me in a menacing mood and myself standing before them with a terrified look imploring for mercy is a scene which so long a period as 18 years has not succeeded in fading away. I can even now vividly recall it and never recall it without tears in my eyes. It was then for the first time that I learnt that a person who is an Untouchable to a Hindu is also an Untouchable to a Parsi."

W. & S. - 12- P -673-678

5. THE UNTOUCHABLES AND MOHAMMEDAN

" In the year 1934 some of my co-workers in the movement of the Depressed Classes expressed a desire to go on a sightseeing tour if I agreed to join them. I agreed. It was decided that our plan should at all events include a visit to the Buddhist caves at Verul. It was arranged that I should go to Nasik and the party should join me at Nasik. To go to Verul we had to go to Aurangabad. Aurangabad is a town in the Mohammedan State of Hyderabad and is included in the dominion of His Exalted Highness, the Nizam. On the way to Aurangabad we had first to pass another town called Daulatabad which is also in the Hyderabad State. Daulatabad is a historical place and was at one time the capital of a famous Hindu king by name Ramdeo Rai. The fort of Daulatabad is an ancient historical monument and no tourist while in that vicinity should omit a visit to it. Accordingly our party had also included in its programme a visit to the fort of Daulatabad.

We hired some buses and touring cars. We were about 30 in number. We started from Nasik to Yeola as Yeola is on the way to Aurangabad. Our tour programme had not been announced and quite deliberately. We wanted lo travel incognito in order to avoid difficulties which an Untouchable tourist has to face in outlying parts of the country. We had informed our people at those centers only at which we had decided to halt. Accordingly on the way although we passed many villages in the Nizam State none of our people had come to meet us. It was naturally different at Daulatabad. There our people had been informed that we were coming they were waiting for us and had gathered at the entrance to the town. They asked us to get down and have tea and refreshment first and then to go to see the fort. We did not agree to their proposal. We wanted tea very badly but we wanted sufficient time to see the fort before it was dusk. We therefore left for the fort and told our people that we would take tea on our return. Accordingly we told our drivers to move on and within a few minutes we were at the gate of the fort. The month was Ramjan, the month of fast for the Mohammedans. Just outside the gate of the fort there is a small tank of water full to brim. There is all around a wide stone pavement. Our faces, bodies and clothes were full of dust gathered in the course of our journey and we all wished to have a wash. Without much thought some members of the party washed their faces and their legs on the pavement with the water from the tank. After these ablutions we went to the gate of the fort. There were armed soldiers inside. They opened the

big gates and admitted us into the archway. We had just commenced asking the guard the procedure for obtaining permission to go into the fort. In the meantime an old Mohammedan, with white flowing beard was coming from behind shouting "the Dheds (meaning Untouchables) have polluted the tank". Soon all the young and old Mohammedans who were near about joined him and all started abusing us. "The Dheds have become arrogant. The Dheds have forgotten their religion (i.e. to remain low and degraded). The Dheds must be taught a lesson". They assumed a most menacing mood. We told them that we were outsiders and did not know the local custom. They turned the fire of their wrath against the local Untouchables who by that time had arrived at the gate. "Why did you not tell these outsiders that this tank could not be used by Untouchables!" was the question they kept on asking them. Poor people! They were not there when we entered the tank. It was really our mistake because we acted without inquiry. They protested that it was not their fault. But the Mohammedans were not prepared to listen to my explanation. They kept on abusing them and us. The abuse was so vulgar that it had exasperated us. There could easily have been a riot and possibly murders. We had however to restrain ourselves. We did not want to be involved in a criminal case which would bring our tour to an abrupt end.

One young muslim in the crowd kept on saying that every one must conform to his religion, meaning thereby that the Untouchables must not take water from a public tank. I had grown quite impatient and asked him in a somewhat angry tone, "Is that what your religion teaches? Would you prevent an Untouchable from taking water from this tank if he became a Mohammedan?" These straight questions seemed to have some effect on the Mohammedans. They gave no answer and stood silent. Turning to the guard I said again in an angry tone. "Can we get into the fort or not? Tell us, if we can't we don't want to stop". The guard asked for my name. I wrote it out on a piece of paper. He took it to the Superintendent inside and came out. We were told that we could go into the fort but we could not touch water anywhere in the fort and an armd soldier was ordered to go with us to see that we did not transgress the order.

I gave one instance to show that a person who is an Untouchable to a Hindu is also an Untouchable to a Parsi. This will show that person who is an Untouchable to a Hindu is also an Untouchable to a Mohammedan."

* W. & S. - Vol - 12 - P 683-685

1. BAHISHKRIT HITKARINI SABHA

(Estd. On 20.7.1924)

The aims and objects of the sabha will be: -

1. To promote the spread of education among the Depressed Classes by opening Hostels or by employing such other means as may seem necessary or desirable.
2. To promote the spread of culture among the Depressed Classes by opening Libraries, Social Centers and Classes or Study Circles.
3. To advance and improve the economic condition of the Depressed Classes by starting Industrial and Agriculture Schools.
4. To represent the grievances of the Depressed Classes.
5. To organise or help any club, association or any movement calculated to bring about the general enlightenment, social rise or economic betterment of the Depressed Classes."

* W. & S.-Vol.-17(II)-P-396

2. THE ALL INDIA SCHEDULED CASTES FEDRATION

(Estd. On 19.7.1942)

The aims and objects of the Federation are -

1. To organize the Scheduled Castes of India, to educate them and to agitate for their social, economic and political freedom and to make them strive for their well being and advancement.
2. To secure for them equality of opportunity and thereby enable them to achieve equal status with their fellow citizens in all walks of life.
3. To engage itself in organizing the Peasantry, the landless laborers and the worker's in factories and other wage earners.
4. To undertake educational activities such as starting of schools and teaching them arts and crafts.
5. To undertake all activities for the moral and spiritual elevation of the Scheduled Castes; and
6. To keep a record of all cases of tyrannies and oppressions practised upon the Scheduled Castes in different parts of the country."

* W. & S.-Vol.-17(II)-P-457

3. PEOPLE'S EDUCATION SOCIETY

(Estd. On 08.07.1945)

1. The aims and objects of the Society shall be -

(a) To provide facilities for education, secondary, collegiate, technical, physical and the like;

(b) To start, establish, conduct and/or aid educational and Buddhist religious associations such as schools, colleges, vihars, hostels, libraries, playgrounds, Buddhist Institutes etc. at suitable places in the State of Maharashtra as well as any other parts of India;

(c) To provide facilities for education of the poor and the Buddhists;

(d) To create and foster general interest in education among the Scheduled Castes and Buddhists who are converted from amongst the Scheduled Castes and in particular to give them special facilities, scholarships and freeships for higher education;

(e) To promote science, Buddhist and other literature and fine arts and to impart useful knowledge in comparative studies of religion;

(f) To purchase, take on lease or otherwise acquire property for the Society and to invest and deal with the moneys of the Society in such manner as may from time to time be determined;

(g) To construct, maintain, rebuild, repair, alter, replace or reinstate houses, vihars, buildings or works for the purpose of the Society;

(h) To sell, dispose off, improve, develop, exchange, lease, mortgage or otherwise 'alienate or deal with all or any property of the Society;

(i) To co-operate or affiliate the Society or any institution or institutions run by or belonging to the Society with a view to securing further advancement of the aims and objects of the Society especially of Buddhists.

(j) To raise money with or without security for carrying out any of the purpose, aims and objects of the Society.

(k) To procure the Society to be registered or recognized in any State in India

(l) To do all other lawful things and acts as are incidental or conducive to the attainment of any of the aforesaid aims and objects."

* W&S-Vol-17(II) -P-431-432

4. THE BUDDHIST SOCIETY OF INDIA

(Estd. 08.05.1955)

The objects of the Society -

(1) To promote the spread of Buddhism in India.
(2) To establish temples for Buddhists worship
(3) To establish schools and colleges for religious and scientific subject
(4) To establish orphanages, hospitals and relief centers
(5) To start Buddhists seminaries for the preparation of workers for the spread of Buddhism

(6) To promote comparative study of all religions.
(7) To undertake publication of Buddhists literature and to issue leaflets and pamphlets for giving a true understanding of the Buddhists religion to the common mass
(8) To create new order of priests, if it becomes necessary to do so.
(9) To establish a press or presses for the purposes of carrying on the work of publication.
(10) To hold gatherings and conferences of the Buddhists of India for common action and to establish fellowship."

* W&S-Vol -17(II)-P- 480

5. THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OF INDIA

(Estd. On 30.09.1956)

1. The Preamble to the constitution of India says:-

WE THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a **SOVEREIGN, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC** and to secure to all its citizens.

JUSTICE, social, economic and political

LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship

EQUALITY of status and of opportunity and to promote among all **FRATERNITY** assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation.

IN OUR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY THIS twenty sixth day of November 1949, do **HEREBY ADOPT, ENACT AND GIVE TO OURSELVES THIS CONSTITUTION.**

To realise the aims and objects set out in preamble namely **JUSTICE, LIBERTY, EQUALITY AND FRATERNITY** would constitute the aims and objects of the **REPUBLICAN PARTY.**

These are being the aims and objects of the party the attitude of the party in public affairs will be governed by the following principles.

1. It will treat all Indians not only as being equal before the law but as being entitled to equality and will accordingly foster equality where it does not exist and uphold it where it is denied.

2. It will regard every Indian as an end in himself with a right to his own development in his own way and the State as only a means to that end.

3. It will sustain the right of every Indian to freedom, religious economic and political subject to such limitations as may arise out of the need for the protection of the interest of other Indians or the State.
4. It will uphold the right of every Indian to equality of opportunity subject

to the provision that those who have had none in the past shall have priority over those who had.

5. It will keep the State ever aware of its obligations to make every Indian free from want and free from fear.
6. It will insist on the maintenance of liberty, equality and fraternity and will strive for redemption from oppression and exploitation of man by man, of class by class and of nation by nation.
7. It will stand for the parliamentary system of Government as being the best form of Government both in the interest of public and in the interest of the individual.

* W&S-Vol-17(II)-P-156-157

6. ALL INDIA SCHEDULED CASTES STUDENTS FEDERATION

Aims and Objects

1. Organise the Scheduled Caste students of India into a compact body.
2. Develop corporate life amongst them and to discard all activities and undertakings that accentuate caste consciousness among them.
3. Safeguard the interests of the Scheduled Castes Students of India.
4. Create a cultural atmosphere amongst them by encouraging moral and intellectual education and by bringing them in touch with the cultural and political movement of the present day.
5. Encourage physical culture in order to improve the health and physique of the Scheduled Caste students.
6. Safe - guard the interests of the Scheduled Castes people.
7. Co-ordinate the activities of the Scheduled Castes Students for the welfare of the Scheduled Castes people and the country.
8. Formulate public opinion in favour of the Scheduled Castes movement.
9. Undertake all such matters, subject to the approval of the working committee, which may appropriately belong to the general sphere of the life of the Scheduled Castes Students.

* W. & S.-Vol-17(II)-P-487-488

7. THE SAMTA SAINIK DAL

Sainik's Oath

" I, a member of the Scheduled Caste Community, entering the ranks of the Samta Sainik Dal , do hereby take an Oath and solemnly swear to be an honourable, brave, disciplined and resolute fighter in the glorious cause of the emancipation of my class from all oppression, exploitation and slavery."

* W. & S.-Vol-17 (III)-P-566

Aims and Objects

The aim of the Samta Sainik Dal is to strive for the removal of all inequality based on race, religion, caste, sex or class and to unite all members of the Scheduled Caste Communities for a struggle to build a society based on the freedom and equality of all.

To achieve this aim:

1. The Samata Sainik Dal shall unite and organize the Scheduled Castes youths under its banner.
2. The Samata Sainik Dal shall promote all social cultural and other activities among the Scheduled Castes particularly among the youth so as to cultivate self-respect, self-reliance and a spirit of self-sacrifice in their minds.
3. The Samta Sainik Dal shall co-operate, with all such organizations and movements that help to further its aims and objects.

W&S-Vol-17(III)-P-567

Dr. Ambedkar with his associates at Minlind College, Aurangabad (M.S.)

ANNEXURE - 1

SOME EXCERPTS / STATEMENTS EULOGISING THE WORK OF DR. AMBEDKAR AS THE FATHER OF INDIAN CONSTITUTION

*

Constituent Assembly elected the drafting

Committee with Dr. Ambedkar as its Chairman

*

[Despite the stiff opposition came from the Congress Dr. Ambedkar get elected to the Constituent Assembly from Bengal. However this happened due to assistantane of his close associate Mr. Jojendra Nath Mandal formar law minister of India and Pakistan. In this regard Shri Mandal narrate the facts. " There was no chance for him to be elected to the Constituent Assembly. I then took up his cause and assured him of my utmost efforts to get him elected from Bengal. But he had become so much despaired that after returning to Delhi he wrote to me that I should give up my efforts for his election as he could not find any possibility of success of my efforts. However, I wrote to him that I would try my utmost upto the last, and that he should not be totally disheartened. I was at that time a minister of Bengal. I personally began to try hard to secure votes for Dr. Ambedkar. Many prominent workers of the Federation also began to work for this purpose. Stiff opposition came from the Congress side. However Dr. Ambedkar was elected with the highest number of votes."[1] - editor]

" Because we had been fighting the Congress in all elections Congressmen were so much against me that some of them openly said they would see any one in the Constituent Assembly but not me. Indeed because our party's strength here was not sufficient. I had to seek election to the Constituent Assembly from Bengal.

" The fact that I not only entered the Assembly but was actually entrusted later with the unique honour of drafting Constitution[2].-Dr. Ambedkar

"Later the "very useful " work done by him in various subcommittees of the Assembly convinced the Congress bosses beyond doubt that without Ambedkar 's services the legislation and solidification of freedom would not be easy .No wonder, the Congress party which had opposed tooth and nail his entry into the Constituent Assembly a few months earlier, came forward to sponsor his candidature when Ambedkar lost his seat consequent upon the division of Bengal .In his letter dated 30 June 1947,Dr Rajendra prasad , president of the Constituent Assembly ,requested

B.G.kher, Chief minister of Bombay ,to elect Dr. Ambedkar immediately .He wrote:

".....Apart from any other consideration we have found Dr. Ambedkar 's work both in the Constituent Assembly and the various committees to which he was appointed to be of such an order as to require that we should not be deprived of his services . As you know he was elected from Bengal and after the division of the province he has ceased to be a member of the Constituent Assembly. I am anxious that he should attend the next session of the Constituent Assembly commencing from the 14th July and it is therefore necessary that he should be elected immediately."

Accordingly Dr. Ambedkar was re-elected in July 1947 as a member of the Constituent Assembly.[3]

*

" On August 29, 1947 the Constituent Assembly appointed a Drafting Committee with N. Madhava Rao, syed M. Sadullah, Sir Alladi Krishnamachari T.T. Krishnamachari and two others as members and Ambedkar as the Chairman."[4]

*

" I have entered the Constituent Assembly to safeguard the rights of the Scheduled Castes. I was surprised when the Constituent Assembly elected me to the Drafting Committee. I was more than surprise when the Drafting Committee elected me to be its chairman. I therefore expressed my gratitude to the Constituent Assembly and to the Drafting Committee for reposing in me so much trust and confidence and for choosing me as their instrument and giving me that opportunity for serving the country."5 - Dr. Ambedkar

1. REMINISCENCES AND REMEMBERANCES OF DR. AMBEDKAR - by N. C. Rattu - P - 142
2. W. & S. Vol -17(III) - P - 397
3. Dr. Ambedkar and indian constitution - by D.C. Ahir - Preface
4. L. & M. — P - 397
5. L. & M. — P - 413

1. " Sitting in the chair and watching the proceedings from day to day, I have realized as nobody else could have with what zeal and devotion the Members of the Drafting Committee and especially its Chairman Dr.Ambedkar in spite of his indifferent health have worked (cheers). We could never make a decision which was or could be ever so right as when we put him on the Drafting Committee and made him its Chairman. He has not only justified his selection but has added lustre to the work which he has done."

* Dr. Rajendra Prasad

L. & M. — p-415

2. " He is often spoken of as one of the architects of our Constitution. There is no doubt that no one took greater care and trouble over Constitution making than Dr. Ambedkar."

* J.L Nehru

W. & S.Vol.I5-P-976

3. " Sir, I am one of those in the House who have listened to Dr.Ambedkar very carefully. I am aware of the amount of work and enthusiasm that he has brought to bear on the work of drafting this Constitution. At the same time I do realise that, that amount of attention that was necessary for the purpose of drafting a Constitution so important to us at this moment, has not been given to it by the Drafting Committee. The House is perhaps aware that of the seven members nominated by you, one had resigned from the House and was replaced, one died and was not replaced. One was away in America and his place was not filled up and another person was engaged in State affairs and there was a void to that extent. One or two people were far away from Delhi and perhaps health did not permit them to attend, so it happened ultimately that the burden of drafting this Constitution fell on Dr.Ambedkar and I have no doubt that we are grateful to him for having achieved this task in a manner which is undoubtedly commendable....."

* T.T.Krishnamachary

4. " I rise to thank the Honourable Dr.Ambedkar for the brilliant analysis of the Constitution that he presented to the Constituent Assembly, sir I equally thank his colleagues who laboured hard for six long months to forge the Constitution that is presented to this House....."

* Shri Biswanath Das

5. " Sir, I congratulate Dr.Ambedkar for the introduction of the motion for the consideration of the Draft Constitution of India. The speech that he delivered was a remarkable one and I am sure that his name is bound to go down to posterity as a great constitution maker....."

* Kazi syed Karimuddin

6. "..... I have particularly to felicitate the Law Minister for the very lucid

way in which he has put forward the salient features of the Constitution for our consideration, and given us thought-provoking ideas, with reasons why certain items have been included and why certain others have been put in the manner they have been..... "

* Prof. K.T .Shah

7. " Sir, I would be failing in my duty if I do not at the very outset congratulate my Honourable friend and old colleague* Dr Ambedkar, for the magnificent performance he made yesterday. The House appreciates the stupendous amount of time and energy he has spent in giving the constitutional proposals a definite shape....."

* Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra

8. "..... The speech delivered my Honourable friend Dr.Ambedkar was an excellent performance and it was an impressive commentary on the Draft that has been presented as is well known, he is an Advocate of repute and I think he ably argued what was before him. He would perhaps have shaped the Constitution differently if he had the scope to do so. In any case I think he admitted his difficulties fully when he said that after all you couldn't alter the administration in a day. And if the present Constitution can be described in a nutshell it is one intended to fit in with the present administration....."

* Dr.P.S. Deshmukh.

9. " The Honourable Dr.Ambedkar, in introducing his report and the Draft Constitution, mentioned that the Constitution was federal in structure but unitary in character. I believe Sir, especially at this stage we require such a Constitution. We were told that he has borrowed from the Government of India Act. When we find something good in it. We copy it, If we find something useful and suitable to us, to our custom and to our culture, in other constitutions, there is no harm in adopting it."

* Shri S.Nagappa

10. " Dr.Ambedkar,_____ he is a learned professor and I acknowledge his learning and his ability and I think the Draft Constitution is mainly his handicraft-in his introductory speech, he has entered into a sort of metaphysical debate. He has introduced a new term: I feel, Sir, there is no right in the world, which is absolute. Every right carries with it some obligation, without obligation there cannot be any right..."

* Shri Arun Chandra Guha

11. " Sir, the Draft Constitution introduced by Dr. Ambedkar, the Honourable member in charge, is a very big document. The trouble taken by him and those who are associated with him must have been really very great. My Honourable friend Mr.T.T.Krishnamachari, when he was speaking, explained the handicap under which the Honourable Dr.Ambedkar had been labouring on account of as many as five or six

members of the Committee having dropped out and their places not having been filled up....."

* Shri T.prakasam

12. " It has been admitted by several Members-particularly by every Member who has spoken before me- that the Draft Constitution is an excellent piece of work. May I say that it is a monumental piece of work put up by the Honourable Dr.Ambedkar and his Drafting Committee after months of laborious work which may definitely be qualified as the work of experts, work which is comparative, selective and efficient in character right from the beginning to the end....."

* Dr.Joseph Alban D'souza

13. " Sir, as an able and competent lawyer, the Honourable Dr.Ambedkar has presented the Draft Constitution in this House in very lucid terms and he has impressed the outside world and also some of the Honourable Members here....."

* Shri R.K.Sidhwa

14. " Sir, Dr.Ambedkar, Chairman of the Drafting Committee in a very lucid speech explained the salient points of the Draft Constitution. In answer to the questions which are raised, namely, what is the form of the Government and what is the constitution of the country, he has pointed out that it is a federal type of Government with a strong Center and a parliamentary system of Government with a single judiciary and uniformity in fundamental laws. He has also said that the emphasis has been placed on responsibility rather than on stability. It is strong enough in peace-time as well as in war-time. He has answered in his speech the various criticisms levelled against the Draft constitution and I submit that his speech is a very lucid exposition of the Draft Constitution....."

* Shri B.A.Mandloi

15. " Sir, so many friends have come here and offered their congratulations to the Honourable the Law Minister who was in charge of this Draft Constitution that it will sound almost a tautology if I repeat the same sentiments again. But I think I will be failing in my duty if I do not offer my humble and respectful congratulations to the learned Law Minister for the very lucid manner in which he has presented this Draft Constitution for our consideration....."

* Pandit Balkrishna Sharma

16. "..... Sir, I cannot withhold my need of praise for the labour, the industry and the ability with which Dr.Ambedkar has dealt with this Constitution. I congratulate him on the speech that he made without necessarily concurring with him in all the sentiments that he expressed before this House. I think, sir, that the soul of this Constitution is contained in the Preamble and I am glad to express my sense of gratitude to

Dr.Ambedkar for having added the word' fraternity' to the preamble. Now, Sir, I want to apply the touchstone of this preamble to the entire Constitution. If justice, Liberty, Equality and Fraternity are to be found in this Constitution, if we can get this ideal through this Constitution, I maintain that the Constitution is good."

* Pandit Thakur Dass Bhargava

17. "..... To begin with, I must congratulate the learned Doctor who has placed this motion before us. I have read the speech, which he delivered, several times and I think it is a masterpiece of lucid exposition of our Constitution .I certainly think that there could not have been an abler advocacy for the Draft Constitution...." lastly. Sir, I thank the Drafting Committee for providing us with a very fine Constitution. I also feel that the suggestions that I have made will be discussed at the amendment stage and finally find a place in the Constitution of our country....."

* Prof. Shibban Lal Saksena

18. "..... the Draft Constitution which is before us is really a monumental work and we all of us have already given congratulations to the Drafting Committee and its Chairman who is piloting it through this House. At the same time I would like to point out that the Drafting Committee has not only drafted the decisions of the Constituent Assembly but in my humble opinion, it has gone far beyond mere drafting....."

* Shri R.R.Diwakar

From serial no.3 to 18-W. & S.-Vol-13-P-72 to 82

19. ".....On this occasion, I would at first like to congratulate Dr. Ambedkar who has laboured hard to put this Constitution into proper shape. Today he has moved the Motion that the Constitution as settled by the Assembly be passed. It has been said about Dr. Ambedkar that he is the Manu of the present age, whatever be the truth of that statement, I can say that Dr. Ambedkar was quite equal to the task of constitution making that had been entrusted to him....."

* Seth Govind Das

20. "..... All political interests have been represented here. Leaders of all schools of thought are here. Even Dr. Ambedkar who merely came to watch, has taken a leading part in the framing of this Constitution and he is one of the architects of the Constitution we are now passing. The very person who came to doubt and to criticise has ultimately taken charge of this Constitution and framed it. I congratulate him and I congratulate ourselves for the goodwill shown to him and the manner in which he has reciprocated it. After all, by closer contact we can easily understand one another* s view point, so long as we are at a great distance, we make much of the small angularities we have. If this Constitution is worked, in the spirit in which it has been framed, I am sure we will be one of the foremost nations of the world."

* Shri M.Ananthasayanam Ayyangar

21. ".....Now today, sir, we are enacting a law of Independent India under the genius of Ambedkar, the President of the Drafting Committee. If I may do so. Sir I call this Constitution the Mahar Law, because Dr. Ambedkar is a Mahar and now when we inaugurate this Constitution on the 26th January 1950, we shall have the Law of Manu replaced by the Law of Mahar and I hope that unlike the law of Manu under which there was never a prosperity in the country the Mahar Law will make India virtually a paradise"

* Shri H.J. Khandekar

22. ".....Dr. Ambedkar was unique in his clarity of expression and thought, and his mastery over the Constitutional problems including those of finance has been marvelous, unique, singular and complete. But, Sir, unlike you, he was not a free agent, so the evils or the defects in the Constitution as it is placed before us today are inherent in the Constitution in which he was placed and he cannot therefore be personally responsible for them...."

* Mr.Mahboob All Baig Sahib

23. ".....the achievement of independence would go to the credit of Mahatmaji, and its codification to one of Mahatamaji's worst critics, viz. ; the great architect of our great Constitution Dr. Ambedkar Dr. Ambedkar, Sir, deserves the gratitude not only of this Assembly but of this Nation. He and his colleagues on the Committee have laboured to find out the best things almost all over the world and to suit them to the needs of this country. The masterly way in which they prepared the draft and the masterly way in which Dr. Ambedkar piloted it will ever be remembered not only by us but by the posterity with gratitude. Many a defect has been pointed out in this Constitution. I do not think the framers of this Constitution claim any perfection for it, but it cannot be denied that there has been a sincere and a genuine effort to bring about as large a measure of perfection as it was possible under present condition....."

* Shri . Symanandan Sahaya

24. "..... The fact is that we are a nation born new and we have to learn the arts of democracy. The lessons of democracy are not taught in any book, but they have got to be developed. It all depends upon the character of a nation, the integrity, the honesty, our love for democratic principles and our zeal to pursue and follow them, which can make or mar a constitution. The constitution of a country does not depend upon the cold letters, however, beautifully or brilliantly printed in a book. It depends for its growth and development upon the character of a nation. It is the character of a nation - upon which the seeds of Constitution have got to germinate. If the soil is rocky or barren, then certainly howsoever good the Constitution might be and in howsoever grand language it may be worded, it is sure that the Constitution cannot lead

us to our goal. But I have faith. Sir, in the innate genius of our country. I have faith also in the coming generation of tomorrow and we have nothing to despair over what we have done. I think that no amount of guarantees in the Constitution or the filling up of the omissions mentioned will carry us to the goal. It depends upon those who work the Constitution. It depends on how we develop the spirit of tolerance and not on the Constitution or the letter of the law. It depends on the spirit of love towards those that are downtrodden and those who call themselves minorities. We may enact in the Constitution that untouchability is abolished in every heart and home but that carries us nowhere. You should have love and sympathy for what we call the * have-nots* It does not depend on the Constitution or its articles. It depends upon our own character, our own vitality as a nation....."

* shri Jadubans sahay

25. " At the outset I congratulate Dr. Ambedkar the Chairman of the Drafting Committee and the members thereof for producing such a voluminous Constitution in which nothing has been left out. Even price control has been included in it. I venture to think that if they had the time they would have even prescribed a code of life in this Constitution. A word more for Dr. Ambedkar sir. There is no doubt, he is lucidity and clarity personified. He has made a name for himself...."

* shri Gopal Narain

26. "..... In the history of India, there have been periods of greatness and glory, there have been periods of great empires and expansion and of benevolent and good kings, but never did we have a Constitution framed by the people for the people, Before proceeding further it is necessary that we offer our thanks to Dr. Ambedkar and the Drafting Committee who have sat: day after day incessantly and worked hard ....."

* Shri Ajit Prasad Jain

27. "..... We have rightly selected, sir, the Chakra as our emblem, as the historic reminiscence of the period of Asoka Describing the meaning of this Chakra, Rhys David, the famous orientalist has said that this Chakra is intended to send rolling the Royal Chariot wheel of universal empire of truth and righteousness. If any country which departs from the essential moral principles on which it professes to stand it has no future. But this country in keeping with the ancient traditions and ideals has rightly chosen that Chakra, which is, called the Dharma Chakra of Ashoka...."

* Shri Thirumala Rao

28. "...in the end, I have to place my heartfelt thanks on record to you, sir, the President and Dr. Ambedkar. The work that was before us was a

very great task. Dr. Ambedkar has performed a very great work. I would not say Herculean because that is very small word. He has performed a task worthy of the great Pandava Bhim and worthy of the name that he has- Bhim Rao Ambedkar.- He has certainly justified his name - Bhim Rao-and he has performed the task with clarity of vision, clarity of thought and clarity of language Throughout , he was very clear. He always tried to understand the opponent's view and he always tried to accommodate him, and he always tried to put his own views in the most clear language. We are very grateful to him....."

* Shri R.V.Dhulekar

29. "... Before I conclude, I would be failing in my duty If I do not express my high appreciation of the skill and ability with which my friend the Hounourable Dr. Ambedkar has piloted this Constitution and his untiring work as the Chairman of the Drafting Committee. Latterly I know he was ably assisted by my friend Mr.T.T.Krishnamachari, I would also be failing in my duty if I do not give my tributes....."

* Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar

30. " Mr. President, Sir, I stand here to congratulate Dr. Ambedkar and his colleagues for having taken great pains in framing India's new Constitution, We have spent nearly three years and now we are completing our great work. Some Members while congratulating Dr. Ambedkar have called him the present Manu. I am certain that he would not like this appellation. I know he hates Manu, who has created four castes, the lowest of which is the Untouchable class. I remember that he has publicly burnt Manu smriti in the huge meeting of the Untouchables at Mahad in 1929. He is the great leader of the Harijans and is greatly extolled by them as their Champion and is worshipped as an idol. They are very proud of him. They call him Bhim and make it known to the public that he has framed Bhim smriti. I also call it Bhim Smriti though I belong to the Sprasys Class. Dr. Ambedkar is a great lawyer and a man of great ability and intellect; nobody will doubt that...."

* Shri K.M.Jedhe

From S.No.19 to 30, -Vol-13-P- ll63 to 1193

31. " I should have liked to tell Dr. Ambedkar what a steam roller intellect he brought to bear upon this magnificent and tremendous task; irresistible, indomitable, unconquerable, leveling down tall palms and short poppies, whatever he felt to be right he stood by, regardless of consequences"

* Dr. Pattabhi sitaramayya

C.S.-P- 149

32. "Ambedkar brought to bear upon his task a vast array of qualities, erudition, scholarship, imagination, logic and eloquence and experience. Whenever he spoke in the House usually to reply to the criticisms advanced against provisions of the Draft Constitution, there emerged a clear and lucid exposition of the provisions of the Constitution. As he sat down, the mist of doubts vanished, as also the clouds of confusion arid vagueness, indeed, he was a Modern Manu and deserves to be called the Father or the Chief Architect of the Constitution of India "

* M.V.pylee,

C.S.-P- 149

33. " Dr. Ambedkar was a constitutional architect of consummate skill and fidelity who, between 1947 and 1950, designed the structure which has been reared for immortality, if the work of many may justly aspire to such title ."

* Nani Palkhiwala

Eminent jurist

34. " Dr. Ambedkar was the chief architect of our Constitution. He was the emancipator of the Backward Classes and his efforts brought about the abolition of untouchability. He had a multi faceted personality and in him India found a great leader."

* Mr. RANGNATH MISHRA,

Former Chief Justice, SupremeCourt of India

35. " There is a poetic justice in it. He became the law giver of the 20th century, the modern Manu."

* JUSTICE GAJEKDRA GADKAR"

Former Chief Justice, Supreme Court of Individual

36. " The Constitution of India is 'living testimony to the greatness and vision of Ambedkar and his name will live as long as the Constitution lives. Dr. Ambedkar was the principal architect of the Indian Constitutional edifice ."

* JUSTICE DR.O.CHINNAPPA REDDY
Former Judge, Supreme Court of India
From S. No. 33 to 36 - DIATRIBE-P- 35 to 37

37. "I am very pleased to see in the papers that the Columbia University is conferring on you the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws. It is an appropriate recognition for your great work in regard to our Constitution. My warmest congratulations."

Date : 26 May 1952 S. Radhakrishnan

* s&S -Vol - 17(Iil) - p - 464

38. COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY HONOURS

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar

New York, June 6, 1952. Columbia University Yesterday hailed Dr. B.R. Ambedkar as " one of India's leading citizens a great social reformer and a valiant upholder of human right," in awarding him an honorary degree at its 198th commencement exercises.

.....

CITATION

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK

BHIMRAO RAMJI AMBEDKAR LL.D.

Born in India and schooled there under heavy hard-ships B.A. of the University of Bombay at twenty and for three years a graduate student in this University, receiving the doctorate in political science, subsequently a student of the Inns of Court and the University of London obtaining a doctorate in economics, for the past three decades as barrister. University professor and member of the legislative council as a framer of the Constitution, member of the cabinet and of the Council of State, one of India's leading citizens, a great social reformer and a valient upholder of human rights.

In the exercise of authority conferred upon me be the Trustees, I gladly admit you do the degree of Doctor of laws, honoris causa in this University and confer upon you all the right and privileges which attach thereto, in token whereof I hand you this diploma.

Sd - Grayon Kirk

Date : 5 June 1952 Vice - President and Provost

* W&S - Vol - 17(III) - 467-68

39. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar described as one of the ablest lawyers and the champion of the Downtrodden who had taken the main burden of framing the Indian constitution.

Honourary Degree conferred on Dr. B.R. Ambedkar is as follow :

Osmania University

The Degree Of Doctor of Literature Honoris Causa Has Been Conferred At The Convocation Upon Dr. B.R. Ambedkar

In recognition of his Eminent Position and Attainments

Hyderabad - Deccan
12 January 1953
Chancellor

* W. & S. - Vol-17 (III) - P - 490 - 92

40. " He (Dr. Ambedkar) was a remarkable politician, lawyer and intellectual, who showed particular courage and determination in championing the interests of the most vulnerable communities in India at a time of unprecedented political change. The Constitution of India, with which he was so closely involved, is a lasting tribute to his memory.

* Mrs. MARGARET THATCHER,
Former Prime Minister, England

41. " The Indian Constitution provides inspiration in preparation of a new South African Constitution. We hope that our efforts in formulation of a new constitution will reflect the work and ideas of this great son of India. Dr. Ambedkar's contribution to social justice and to the upliftment of the oppressed is worthy of emulation".

* DR.NELSON MANDELA
President, South Africa

42. " Dr. Ambedkar born into one of the most disadvantaged communities of India, championed the rights of the oppressed and powerless all his adult life. But more than that, he fashioned a constitutional framework so that they and their children might claim citizenship of a democratic, secular, open society as their birthright. He was a great son of India and a great citizen of the world "

* HON. NEIL KINNOCK, M.P.
Leader of the Labour Party

43. " Dr. Ambedkar's contribution was tremendous, the Constitution has so much strength in it that all efforts could not shake the foundation of India. Not only that, it has kept India's freedom, it has kept India's democracy alive and we can be proud of Dr. Ambedkar because of this."

* DR. SWARAJ PAUL"

44. " To his credit one should say that, at the crucial moments of India's history, Ambedkar subordinated the interests of his community to the interests of the entire nation. He did that when the Poona Pact was concluded, where. He worked in Nehru's government and when he was a member of the Constituent Assembly. Ambedkar made a decisive contribution to the drafting of the Indian Constitution."

* GRIGORY KOTOVSKY
Russian Scholar

45. " As Law minister he piloted the Constitution through the Constituent Assembly, One of the paradoxes of modern India is that the low caste Hindu played so great a part in determining its fundamental law.

* THS MANCHESTER GUARDIAN '"

Editorial, 7 Dec. 1956, UK

46. " What is perhaps not so well known is that he put a profound impress

upon India's major legal structures. As Minister of Law in Mr. Nehru's Cabinet he was one of the real authors of the Indian Constitution. More than that, he was the principal draftsman of the statutory" Hindu Code " whose purpose was to change, under Law, some of the basic frame work of the Indian Society and to move it into more liberal and humanistic patterns".

*

The New York Times
International Edition, Dec.7, 1956
FROM S. No. 40 to 46- DIATRIBE-P-32 TO 34

47. The indian constitution which was under active preparation and discussion during Lord Mountbatten's term of office is a synthesis of the great Western charters of liberty. The obvious hiatus between the vision of this document and the realities of Indian life does not destroy the validity of the vision. It represents a great tribute to the liberalising influence of British thought and is a fundamental attack upon the aims and aspirations of communalism. The Indian constitution offers fresh hope for the eighty million Untouchables who under purely Hindu dogma were parials polluting food with their shadow but are now Indian citizens with equal right before the law. It is significant that one of the principal personalities in Nehru's Government and as such a prominent personality in the preparation and sponsorship of the constitution is Dr. Ambedkar the well-known leader of the Untouchables.

*

Alan Campbell - Johnson
W&S - Vol - 17(II) - P - 359

48. "I was even more pleased to agree to his appointment as Chairman of the Constitution Drafting Committee, and watch the admiration the very efficient way in which he piloted the new constitution of India through the Constituent Assembly. This was a magnificent achievement.

*

Lord Mountbatten
last Governor General of India.

49. "At a time when people throughout the world are celebrating freedom and democracy, it is particularly appropriate to mark the birth of a man who made such an important contribution of the worlds largest democracy and the interests of the ordinary people of India . It is a pleasure to send my best wishes on the occasion of the latest volume published to mark Dr. Ambedkar's very considerable achievements.

*

John Major
Prime Minister of England
Serial no.48-49 L.F.Y. P-257-258

ANNEXURE - 2

THE BOOKS WRITTEN BY DR. AMBEDKAR AND SOME OPINIONS THEREON

1. PAKISTAN OR THE PARTITION OF INDIA

" There can be no two opinions about the learning, grasp and original thinking displayed in his (Dr. Ambedkar's) work. They are of the highest order possible. Eminently readable (it is the) production of a true scholar and a brilliant daring politician."

* K.T. Shah in Bharat Jyoti

" Pakistan is the label under which the learned doctor (Dr. Ambedkar) discusses the entire problem of India in all its peculiarities and perplexities... Nobody can deny the candour and competence with which he has discussed this difficult and intriguing topic".

* TheTimes of India.

" Books have been written both for and against it (Pakistan) Among these Dr. Ambedkar's takes a place (of importance). There is not an aspect of the question which he does not touch or discuss ."

* T. R. Venkatrama shastri

" Dr. Ambedkar's command over facts, his penetrating intellect and potent arguments are the main features".

* The Journalist.

" A first class reference book. No student of current politics can afford to miss this book."

* Bombay Chronicle.

" A very valuable book and must be read by every one that wants to study and think deeply about the present and future India".

* Indian Nation

" This book, (Thoughts on Pakistan) to which I am much indebted, is essential for any student of Pakistan', or indeed, of modern India."

Beverley Nichols In verdict on India

* Jacket of W. & S. -Vol - 8

" Thought on Pakistan is a masterpiece in which learning and thinking are blended and displayed at their highest order. It is entrancing in its magic, intriguing in its construction, terse in its style, and provocative in its manner. It is a model scientific propagation?..

The effect of this book was terrible. It shattered the brains of many

Hindu politicians. It was applauded as an epitome of the political and social history of India; and it rocked Indian politics tor over a decade. The Muslim rejoiced at this support to their ideal. The Congressmen who were bred and brought up in the sordid philosophy of neither-reject nor accept winked at one another."

(Thacker & Co. Ltd. , Bombay , 1946)

DHANANJAY KEER

*

L&M p-335

2. WHAT CONGRESS AND GANDHI HAVE DONE TO THE UNTOUCHABLES

" The book no doubt primarily deals with the movement of the Untouchables. But it would be a mistake -to suppose that it deals with nothing else. In fact, it concerns itself with many other subjects of great importance to the general Hindu public. It deals with the conflict between Brahminism and Democracy which is discussed here for the first time with originally and depth which are not likely to be surpassed.. The study of the results of the Elections of 1937 embodied in these book forms the most striking part of it. It is a masterly analysis of the Election returns that are presented in numerous tables, which illuminate its pages. It is of utmost importance to the non-Brahmins in India. Those who are interested in Gandhism will find many foods for thought in this book. In a special chapter devoted -to the subject there is drawn. A picture of Gandhism in blazing colours."

Mr. N. G. Jog writing about Dr. Ambedkar in April 1945 issue of sound says:

" One- can not help' admiring the thick-set spectacled Doctor, however violently are may disagree with him. Born the lowest of the low. He has reached the highest of the high positions. Beverly Nichols called him one of the six best brains in India. That may be an exaggeration as most observations' of Nichols are. But it can not be denied that Ambedkar is one of the most erudite among Indian leaders. India, Britain, the United States, Germany all these countries have showered their academic honours upon him. . Economist and lawyer professor and author, fighter and politician- there are several facets to his career. It can be truly said of him that he adorned whatever he touched"

(Thacker & Co. Ltd. , Bombay , 1945)

* Jacket of W. & S. VOL. 9

3. ANNIHILATION OF CASTE

".....a great: thesis on the annihilation of caste. The thesis is indeed, the work of industrious reading, microscopic observation, and a

prognostication of what was revolving in its author's mind. It was logic on fire, pinching and pungent, piercing and fiery, provocative and explosive. It was to the minds of the caste Hindu leaders what silver nitrate is to a gangrene."

(Thacker & Co. Ltd. , Bombay , 1937)

DHANANJAY KEER

* L& M p- 269

4. THE EVOLUTION OF PROVINCIAL FINANCE IN BRITISH INDIA

" The value of Mr. Ambedkar's contribution to this discussion lies in the objective recitation of the facts and the impartial analysis of the interesting development that has taker: place in his native country. The lessons are applicable to other countries as well, nowhere, to my knowledge, has such a detailed study of the underlying principles been made."

(P.S. King & Sons Ltd. , London, 1923)

EDWIN R.A. SELIGMAN

* W. & S. Vol-6-P-56

5. THE PROBLEM OF THE RUPEE

".....Even when I have thought him quite wrong, I have found a stimulating freshness in his views and reasons. An old teacher like myself learns to tolerate the vagaries of originality, ever when they resist" severe examination" such as that of which Mr. Ambedker speaks."

Professor Edwin Cannan

* W. & S. - VOL.-6- P- 331

" Excellent piece of work. English style is easy and his knowledge of his subject obviously very full ."

* THE TIMES - (London)

" It is a clear and ably written book. Certainly none of the other numerous works on one or other aspect of the monetary problem have anything like the readability of this tract "

* THE ECONOMIST (LONDON)

" His work throughout shows the utmost care and is clearly the fruit of painstaking research... The book (to which Professor Cannan contributes a foreward) is, on account of the originality-of its treatment. to be commended to all students of the finances of India."

THE SCOTSMAN :

C.S.- P- 283

" Ambedkar deals with the problem in a very lucid and praise worthy manner and puts forward not merely its origin but also valuable proposals for a solution, which should be studied by bankers and those merchants whose business depends upon the exchange."

(P.S. King & Sons Ltd. , London, 1925)

THE FINANCIER,

*

C.S- P-284

" The Problem of the Rupee was an exceedingly instructive treatise on a terribly controversial subject. Ambedkar tackled the problem of the rupee in all its details. He traced its history, analysed all sorts of opinions and finally gave us his verdict that the problem had arisen, on account of the neglect by those in power of the truth that it was the internal purchasing power of the rupee which was of primary importance and. not its exchange value as has been assumed and worked upon by them."

DR. W.N. KUBER

*

C.S- P-282

6. THE BUDDHA AND HIS DHAMMA

" Thus Ambedkar establishes the real nature of the Buddha's teaching by in effect, replacing the traditional triad of Sila, Samadhi and Pradnya by his own triad of Sila, Pradnya, and Karuna-Maitri. This enables him to bring out the social implications of the Buddha's teaching more fully and clearly than they had been brought out before and to answer in the affirmative the question. ' Did the Buddha have (a) Social Message. ?"

(People's Education Society , Bombay ,1957)

SANGHA RAKSHITA

*

A & B -P - 156

7. **CASTES IN INDIA** , their machanism , genesis & development (Indian Antiquiry - May - 1915)

8. **RANDE, GANDHI AND JINNAH,** Thacker & Co. Ltd. , Bombay (1943)

9. **MR. GANDHI AND THE EMANCIPATION OF THE UNTOUCHABLES ,** Thacker & Co. Ltd. , Bombay (1943)

10. **WHO WERE THE SHUDRAS ?** How they came to be the Forth Varna in the Indo - Aryan society ? Thacker & Co. Ltd. , Bombay (1946)

11. **THE UNTOUCHABLES** - Who are they and why they become Untouchables , (Amrit Book Co., New Delhi 1948)

12. **STATES AND MINORITIES** - Thacker & Co. Ltd. , Bombay (1947)

13. **MAHARASTRA AS A LINGUISTIC PROVINCE** - Thacker & Co. Ltd., Bombay (1948)

14. **THOUGHTS ON LIGNUISTIC STATES** - Milind Mahavidhyalaya ,Aurangabad , (1955)

15. **FEDRATION Vs. FREEDOM** - Bheem Patrika , Jullunder (1970)

16. **COMMUNAL DEADLOCK AND A WAY TO SOLVE IT** - F & O Printing , Delhi (1945)

17. **THE RISE AND FALL OF THE HINDU WOMAN** - Dr. Ambedkar Publisations Society , Hydrabad ,1965

ANNEXURE - 3

SOME THOUGHTS OF GREAT MEN / PHILOSPHER CITED BY DR. AMBEDKAR , IN HIS WRITINGS AND SPEECHES

1. " Know Truth as Truth and Untruth as Untruth "

* BUDDHA

2. " He that WILL NOT reason is a bigot
He that CANNOTE reason is a fool
He that DARE NOT reason is a slave."

* -H.DRUMMOND

W. & S. Vol. - 1, P - 23

3. " One country is not fit to rule another country "

* -MILL

W. & S. Vol. - 1, P - 41

4. " Let us turn to Ireland. What does the history of Irish Home Rule show ? It is well - known that in the course of the negotiations between the representative of Ulster and Southern Ireland, Mr. Redmond, the representative of Southern Ireland, in order to bring Ulster in a Home Rule Constitution common to the whole of Ireland said to the representative of Ulster : "Ask any political safeguards you like and you shall have them ." What was the reply that Ulstermen gave? Their reply was " Damn your safeguards, we don't want to be ruled by you on any terms."

* -CARSON

W. & S. - Vol. - I, P - 42

5. " If ther is no opposition , there is no democracy`"

* -Jennings,

W. & S. -Vol. - 1, P - 237

6. " The distance you have gone is less important than the direction in which you are going today."

* -Tolstoy,

W. & S. -Vol. - I, P - 279

7. "It may be your interest to be our masters, but how can it be ours to be your slaves ?"

* -Thucydides,

W. & S. Vol. - 9, P - Title page

8. " Only those who love can serve"

* -Tolstoy,

W. & S. Vol. - 9, P - 139

9. " What Could hold the British Empire to - gether was love and not law ."

* -Balfour

W. & S. Vol. - 9, P - 139

10. " It is better to be accused of timidity than to be ruined by over confident security."

* -Burke-,

W. & S. Vol. - 9, P - 177

11. " Whatever is wrongly settled is never permanetly settled, it has to be resettled."

* -Tom Paine,

W. & S. Vol. - 15, P - 972

12. " Politcs is not a game of realising the ideal, politics is the game of the possible."

* -Bismark

W. & S. Vol. - 14, P - 1321

13. " Good ideals are good but one must not forget, that it is often dangerous to be too good."

* -Bernard Shaw

W. & S. Vol. - 14, P - 1321

14. " The strongest is never strong enough to be always master, unless he transforms his might, into right, and obediance into duty."

* -Rousseau

W. & S. Vol. - 8, P - 379

15. " The strength of parliamentary government is exactly measured by the unity of political parties upon its fundamental objects.."

* -Prof. Laski,

W. & S. Vol. - 8, P - 291

16. " No man can be grateful at the cost of his self respect, no woman can be grateful at the cost of her chastity and no nation can be grateful at the cost of its hounour"

* -Daniel O' Connel the Irish patriot

W. & S. Vol. - 8, P - 47

17. " It is not possible to fool all people for all times."

* -Lincoln,

W. & S. Vol. - 8, P - 125

18. "True religion is the foundation of society , the basis on which all true

civil government rests, and both their sanction ."

*

-Burke

W. & S. Vol. - 1, P - 76

19. " It is easy to give power, but difficult to give wisdom"

*

-Burke

L & M.-P. - 389

20. " The use of force alone is temporary . It may endure a moment but it does not remove the necessity of subducing again, a nation is not governed which is perpetually to be conquered. The next objection to force is its uncertainty. Terror is not always the effect of force, and an armament is not a victory. If you do not succeed you are without resource, for conciliation failing, force remains, but force failing, no further hope of reconciliation is left . Power and Authority are sometimes bought by kindness, but they can never be begged as alms by an impoverished and defeated violence. A further objection to force is that you impair the object by your very endeavours to preserve it. The thing you fought for (to with the loyalty of the people) is not the thing you recover, but depreciated, sunk, wasted and consumed in the contest."

*

-Burke

W. & S. Vol. - 8, P - 10

21. " Cooks, warriors, and authors must be judged by the effects they produce, toothsome dishes, glorious victories , pleasant books, these are our demands. We have nothing to do with ingredients, tactics, or methods. We have no desire to be admitted into the kitchen, the council, or the study. The cook may use her saucepans how she pleases, the warrior place his men as he likes, the author handle his material or weave his plot as best he can when the dish is served we only ask . Is it good ? When the battle has been fought, who won ? When the book comes out, Does it read ?

" Authors ought not to be above being remainded that it is their first duty to write agreeably. Some very disagreeable men have succeeded in doing so, and there is , therefore, no need for any one to despair . Every author, be he grave or gay, should try to make his book as ingratiating as possible . Reading is not a duty, and has consequently no business to be made disaggreeable . No body is under any obligation to read any other man's book."

*

-Augustine Birrell

W. & S. Vol. - 8, P - 17

22. " The permanence of an institution depends not merely on the material interests that support it, but on its conformity to the deep-rooted sentiment of the men for whom it has been made. When it draws to

itself and provides a fitting expression for that sentiment, the sentiment becomes thereby not only more vocal but actually stronger, and in its turn imparts a fuller vitality to the institution."

*

-James Bryce

W. & S. Vol. - 8, P - 190

23. " A Conquered nation is like a man with cancer, he can think of nothing else..... A healthy nation is an unconscious of its nationality as a healthy man of his bones. But if you breack a nation's nationality it will think of nothing else, but getting it set again. It will listen to no reformer, to no philospher, to no preacher until the demand of the nationalist is granted. It well attend to no business, however, vital , except the business of unification and liberation."

*

-Bernard Shaw

W. & S. Vol. - 8, P - 248

24. " The foundation of a Nation's strength and prosperity is laid in pure domestic life, in commercial integrity, in a high standard of moral worth, and of public spirit, in simple habits, in courage, uprightness, and a certain soundness and moderation of judgment which springs quite as much from character as from intellect. If you would form a wise judgment of the future of a nation, observe carefully what qualities count for most in public life. Is character becoming of greater or less importance ? Are the men who obtain the highest posts in the nation men of whom , in private life, irrespective of party competent judges speak with genuine respect ? Are they of sincere convictions , consistent lives and indisputable integrity ? It is by observing this current that you can best cast the horoscope of a nation ."

*

-Lecky

W. & S. Vol. - 1, P - 223

25. "You cannot be liberal by halves . You cannot be liberal in politics and conservative in religion. The heart and the head must go together. You cannot cultivate your intellect, enrich your mind, enlarge the sphere of your political rights and privileges, and at the same time keep your hearts closed and cramped . It is an idle dream to expect men to remain enchained and en shackled in their own superstition and social evils, while they are struggling hard to win rights and privileges from their rulers. Before long these vain dreamers will find their dreams lost. "

*

-M.G. Rande,

W. & S. Vol. - 1, P - 223

26. " Mere considerations of expediency or econmical calculations of gains or losses can never move a community to undertake and carry through social reforms, especially with a community like ours, so spell- bound by custom and authority. Our people feel, and feel earnestly, that some

of our social customs are fraught with evil, but as this evil is of a temporal character, they think that it does not justify a breach of commands divine, for such breach involves a higher penalty. The truth, is the orthodox socity has lost its power of life , it can initiate no reform nor sympathise with it."

*

-M.G.Ranade

W. & S. Vol. - 12, P - 114

27. " The longer one lives, observes, and thinks, the, more deeply does he feel that there is no community on the face of the earth which suffers less from political evils and more from self- inflicted or self- accepted or self - created, and therefore avoidable evils, than the Hindu Community."

*

-Raja Sir T. Madhavrao

W. & S. Vol. - 12, P - 114

28. " There is first of all the internal limitation which arises from the character, motives and interests of those who are in power. If the sultan does not abolish Mahomedanism, pope ban Catholicism, the Brahmin condemn caste, or the British Parliament declare the preservation of blue- eyed babies illegal , it is not because they " cannot " do things, but it is because they " will " not do those things. In the same way if the Executive in Inida did not do certain things most conducive to progress, it was because by reason of its being imperial and also by reason of its character, motives and interests, it could not sympathize with the living forces operationg in the Indian society, was not charged with its wants , its pains, its cravings and its desires, was inimical to its aspirations, did not advance Education , disfavoured Swadeshi or snapped at anything that smacked of nationalism, it was because all these things went against its grain ..... Progress involves interference with the existing code of social life and interference is likely to cause resistance. None the less a Government which is of the people and is not detached from them can venture on the path of progress, because it is in a position to know where the obedinece will end and resistance will begin ..... But no people in the world can long ramain contented with the benefits of peace and order , they are not dumb brutes. It is foolish to supppose that a people will indefinitley favour a burneaucracy because it has improved their roads, constructed canals on more scientific principless, effected their transportation by rail, carried their letters by penny post, flashed their messages by lightening, improved their currency, regulated their weights and measures, corrected their notion of geography, astronomy and medicine and stopped their internal quarrels. Any people, however, patient, will sooner or later demand a Government that will be more than a mere engine of efficiency."

*

-Prof. Dicey

W. & S. Vol. - 12, P - 144

29. " As a result of this, so far as the moral and social life of the people was connecerned, the change of Government by the Moghuls to a Government by the British was only a change of rulers rather than a chage of system. Owing to the adoption of the principle of non - interference partly by perference and partly by necessity by the British ' the natives of India found themselves under a Government distinguished in no vital respect from those under which they had toiled and worshipped, lived and died through all their weary and forgotten history.

From a political stand point , the chage was but the replacement of one despotism by another. It accepted the arrangements as it found them and preserved them faithfully in the manner of the Chinese tailor who, when given in old coat as a pattern, produced with pride an exact replica , rents, patches and all."

*

-Bernard Hoghton
W. & S. Vol. - 12, P - 145

" A house divided against itself can not stand very long."

*-Abraham Lincoln
W. & S. Vol. - 13, P - 1217

" Self government is better than good government "

*

-Campbell Bannerman
W. & S. Vol. - 9, P - 478

" Who writes the history of his own time must expect to be attacked for everyting he has said, and for everthing he has not said. but these little draw backs shuld not discouratge a man who loves truth and liberty, expects nothing, fearts nothing, ask nothing and limits his ambition to the cultivation of letters ."

*

-Voltaire
W. & S. Vol. - 9, P - V (pereface)

" The success of democracy depends on the response of voters to the opportunites given them . But conversely the opportunities must be given in order to call forth the response . The exercise of popular government is itself all education ..... enfranchisement itself may precisely be the stimulus needed to awaken interest . The ballot alone effectively liberates the quite citizen trom the tyranny of the shouter and the wire- puller."

*-Prof. L.H.Hobhouse
W. & S. Vol. - 1, P - 261

ANNEXURE - 4

TRIBUTE TO DR. AMBEDKAR

"... The reports that have reached me of your work at the Round Table Conference, - know you are a patriot of sterling worth."

Mahatma Gandhi
L&M - P-166

" Ambedkar's personality, erudition and capacity to lead and organize would have by themselves marked him out as an outstanding, asset to our Nation. But in addition to that the inestimable services he has rendered to our Motherland in trying to stamp out untouchability and the results he has achieved in instilling a manly spirit of self-confidence in millions of the Depressed Classes constitute an abiding, patriotic as well as humanitarian achievement. The very fact of the birth of such a towering personality among the so-called Untouchable castes could not but liberate their souls from self-depression and animate them to challenge supererogatory claim of the so called touchables ."

Veer savarkar
L&M P. 346

" Dr. Ambedkar would be remembered mostly as the symbol of revolt against all the oppressing features of Hindu society. His virulent opposition to these oppressive features had kept people's minds awake. Although he was a highly controversial figure, he played a very constructive and very important role in the Government activities. He revolted against something, which everybody should revolt against."

J.L.Nehru
L & M P-5l7

" Dr. Ambedkar was the architect of our Constitution and his services in various capacities particularly for the uplift of the Depressed Classes could not be exaggerated."

Dr. Rajendra Prasad,
L & M P-5l7

" Dr. Ambedkar as a thoroughly upright person and a man with a keen jurist sense, a proud and irreconcilable heart, great learning."

C. Rajgopalachari
L&M-518

"....because of caste system, India was enslaved. Caste is the greatest hindrance in the progress of our country....if the Indians wish to strengthen and maintain national unity, they have to destroy the evil of caste. Without destroying caste, the parliamentry Democracy cannot survive in this country."

Dr. Rammanohar Lohiya
L. F.Y. - P-161

"...Gandhi proved himself a great leader in rousing the conscience of the upper castes by making use of his great pestige, but in my opinion Ambedkar is the real Mahatma. He grew in stature not only as an untiring fighter against injustice , but also as a great Indian."

Madhu Limaye
L.F.Y. - P-161

*

"Dr. Ambedkar was without dispute one of the illustrious figures that played a historic part in the annals of the great country India at a time when changing trends and condition were making a significant impression on the life and .social structure of the nation. He was.... one of those who helped to accelerate the process of social change in the country, a process in the case of which hundreds of thousands, even millions, had been enabled to look forward to a better life and a happier life."

U. Nu
Premier of Burma
L. & M P-519

*

" Dr. Ambedkar's great intellectual qualities and his service to the country and his community had put him in the front rank of great men of India. He added that his work would command the respect and gratitude of all those concerned for the achievement of human freedom. Throughout the world generally and India particularly."

B.G.Horniman,
The Editor of the Bombay sentinel
L&M P-346

*

" Every Bharatiya citizen would remember gratefully the name of Ambedkar when he enjoyed his rights. He said that he attended the function not merely because Ambedkar was the leader of the Scheduled Castes, but because he considered him a leader belonging to the whole nation... Ambedkar was now a name well known throughout the world as a great authority on Constitutional Law and added that Ambedkar was also an authority on politics."

Justice M.C. Chhagala
L & M P- 419

*

" Ambedkar would go down to posterity as a saviour a constitutional authority, and a day would dawn when the people would find Ambedkar at the helm of the nation as the Premier of India."

K. Hanumanthaiya,
L& M p-420

*

"... Truly speaking, Gandhi was influenced by Ambedkar to do something for the political rights of the Untouchables.... Ambedkar was the liberator of the downtrodden and was a great seer as well."

R.K.Sidhava
L. & M P-420

*

" Indian leaders such as Gandhi and Nehru were giants Dr. Ambedkar was a giant among those giants ."

MR. MICHAEL FOOT
Former Leader of the Labour Party-UK
* Diatribe-P-33

" Dr. Ambedkar's undoubted talents had not been fully utilized by the nation. The nation was poorer for this default. A nation which neglects brilliance and encourages mediocrity, discourages intellectual honesty and courage of convictions but favours courtiers and yes-men, is doomed to go down. What a difference it would have made if a few men or his caliber had bean incharge of the constructive activities of our country ."

JUSTICE K. SUBBA RAO
* Diatribe-P-36

" Ambedkar a master in his own very vigorous and individual fashion of the English Language. He is a most exhilarating polemist utterly fearless with a wide command of the unexpected and devastating illustration.... istorical or otherwise ... and his energy flies so swiftly - that it produ es by the way most effective results ... if anything by Ambedkar, comes your way, rad it , and you will understand why he often makes orthodox Hindus hoping mad. He is one of the dozen most astonishing men in India."

Edward Thompson in his
ENLIST INDIA FOR FREEDOM
* Jacket of the partition of India

" We who come from Bombay remember him as a teacher, we remember him is an economist, we remember him as a labour leader, we remember him as political leader. Apart from the great work that he did in this House and as a Member of the Government as for as my part of the' country is concerned, he brought new awakening. It was because of him the large sections of people on our side were given a sense of social significance, they were given a sense of confidence. I believe if he had not been there, perhaps my part of the country would not have been what it is today."

Shri Ashoka Mehta (Bhandara)
* W. & S. VO L. 15, P- 979

" He was a versatile mind. He was not only a deep, but a profound scholar, and, as the Leader of the House said, he was a controversial figure. But what I believe was the dominant characteristic of the complex personality was the characteristic of being an indomitable fighter, and it was that indomitable spirit which enable him to triumph over personal disabilities which perhaps would have crushed persons of less tenacious character."

Shri Frank Anthony
(Nominated Anglo - Indian) :
* W. & S. VOL. 15 - P. 980

"...Babasaheb was the greatest son of India. He was not only the

emancipator and savior of the oppressed people of India, but also a great international figure. According to Lord Gunther, the author of 'Inside Asia', Ambedkar was the sixth biggest brain, in rank of all the intellectuals of the world....Ambedkar put a great fight against injustice, inequality and against the cancer of untouchability. No other leader managed to remove the stigma of untouchability so successfully as Ambedkar, perhaps this is the reason that no other leader or saint became the beloved leader, Babasaheb. Only Ambedkar managed to become "Babasaheb" the emancipator of the oppressed people of India...."

R.M. Summan
Councilor Letchworth Herts.
* L.F.Y. - P- 260

"Ambedkar was combative and he had courage. He posed a challenge to the conscience of orthodox Hinduism, and it is to the credit of the latter that on the whole it responded generously. He will probably be remembered when some of our so- called giant contemporaries are forgotten."

THE TIMES OF INDIA
(BOMBAY) DEC.9, 1956
* L.F.Y. - P- 264

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1	Dr. Babasaheb AmbedkarWritings and Speechs	Vol -1	Education Department Govt. of Maharashtra.	1979
2	Do-	Vol –2-	-Do-	1982
3	- Do-	Vol –3	- Do-	1987
4	- Do-	Vol –4	- Do-	1987
5	- Do-	Vol –5	- Do-	1989
6	- Do-	Vol –6	- Do-	1989
7	- Do-	Vol –7	- Do-	1990
8	- Do-	Vol –8	- Do-	1990
9	- Do-	Vol –9	- Do-	1990
10	- Do-	Vol –10	- Do-	1991
11	- Do-	Vol –11	- D o-	1992
12	- Do-	Vol –12	- Do-	1993
13	- Do-	Vol –13	- Do-	1994
14	- Do-	Vol –14	- Do-	1995
15	- Do-	Vol –15	- Do-	1996
16	- Do-	Vol –17	- Do-	2003

17 Source material on Dr. Babasahab Ambedkar and the movement of Untouchables, Vol-1 Education Department Govt. of Maharashtra. 1982

18 Dr. Ambedkar Life and Mission by Dhananjay Keer, Popular Prakashan Bombey 1994

19 Dr. Ambedkar : A critical study by W. N. Kuber, Peoples Publishing House, New Delhi –1979

20 Dr. Ambedkar's roll in National Movement by Dr. D. R. Jatava, Bauddha Sahitya Sammelan, New Delhi 1979

21 Dr. Ambedkar and Buddhism by Sangharashita, Windhorse Publication 136, Renfield street Glasgow, 1986

22 Dr. Ambedkar and Indian Constitution by D. C. Ahir, Buddha Vihar, Lucknow, 1973

23 Reminiscences and Remembrance of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar by N. C. Rattu, Falcon Books, New Delhi, First Edition, 1995

24 Last Few Years of Dr. Ambedkar by N. C. Rattu, Amrit Publication House, New Delhi, 1997

25 Reply to Shourie's Diatribe against Dr. Ambedkar. by Prof.Dr. Suresh Mane 1997

26. Lokrajya (Magzine April 16, 1981) Govt. of Maharashtra

27 Shahu Chhatrapati A Royal Revolution- ary by Dhananjay Keer Popular Prakashan , Bombay - 1976

SAMYAK PRAKASHAN

List of English Books

1.	Rise & Fall of Hindu Women	Dr. Ambedkar	Rs. 20
2.	Annhilation of cast	Dr. Ambedkar	Rs. 50
3.	Durban Conference	S.P. Bauddh	Rs. 10
4.	Last Days of The Buddha	S.P. Bauddh	Rs.100
5.	The Ramayan	Periyar E.V.R.	Rs. 35
6.	Ramabai Ambedkar	S. S. Bauddh	Rs. 25
7.	Baba Saheb—As I know him	S. S. Bauddh	Rs. 60
8.	Patacara (Illustrated)	S. S. Bauddh	Rs. 25
9.	Khema (Illustrated)	S. S. Bauddh	Rs. 20
10.	Suneet (Illustrated)	S. S. Bauddh	Rs. 20
11.	Anathpindik (Illustrated)	S. S. Bauddh	Rs. 25
12.	Bhadra Kundal Kesa	S. S. Bauddh	Rs. 20
13.	Kisa Gotmi (Illustrated)	S. S. Bauddh	Rs. 25
14.	Angulimal (Illustrated)	S. S. Bauddh	Rs. 40
15.	Jeevak (Illustrated)	S. S. Bauddh	Rs. 35
16.	Bhagwan Buddha	S. S. Bauddh	Rs. 60
17.	Sujata (Illustrated)	S. S. Bauddh	Rs. 35
18.	Ananda (Illustrated)	S. S. Bauddh	Rs. 40
19.	Visakha (Illustrated)	S. S. Bauddh	Rs. 40
20.	Upali (Illustrated)	S. S. Bauddh	Rs. 30
21.	Cinca (Illustrated)	S. S. Bauddh	Rs. 30
22.	Sarnath (Illustrated)	S. S. Bauddh	Rs. 80
24.	Bodhgaya (Illustrated)	S. S. Bauddh	Rs.100
25.	Buddha & His Followers	A.Kosalyayan	Rs.100
26.	The Buddha's Teaching to Ravan	M. Piplayan	Rs. 10
27.	Inspiring Tales of Great Buddhist Women	M. Piplayan	Rs.250
28.	Ideal Jatakas - Part I	M. Piplayan	Rs.100
29.	Ideal Jatakas - Part II	M. Piplayan	Rs.100
30.	Ideal Jatakas - Part III	M. Piplayan	Rs.100
31.	Ideal Jatakas - Part IV	M. Piplayan	Rs.100
32.	Ideal Jatakas - Part V	M. Piplayan	Rs.100
33.	Asoka	M. Piplayan	Rs.200
34.	Rajgirha	J.K. Bauddh	Rs.400
35.	Bodhgaya	J.K. Bauddh	Rs.400

B 5134 .A461 S65 2004
Ambedkar, B. R. 1891-1956.
Thoughts of Dr. Baba Saheb
Ambedkar

Samyak Prakashan is dedicated to the propagation and publication of the ideal doctrines of Buddhism as propounded by Lord Budddha. It is also committed to publish, propagate and restore the writings of and about Bodhisatva Baba Saheb Dr. Ambedkar, the great seer and architect of Indian Constitution, Jyotiba Phule, the fgreat social reformer, Chhatrapati SahuJi Maharaj as well as other social reformers, revolutionists and glorious personalities. Samyak Prakashan offers valuable, rare and ieeustrated books to its readers at an affordable price. The Prakashan has over 350 titles on its book-list. It has contributed a lot in the way of reprsenting the inspiring life-stories of various revolutionaries, reformers and women warriors in a lucid form, complete with relevant illustrations. Remarkably, Samyak Prakshan was founded by Mr. Shanti Swaroop Bauddh, the eminent artist of international fame.

Samyak Prakashan has on its board learned editors who act with sheer dition in selecting and recommending the books that would eater suitably to the reading needs of our society. It has played a very vital role in bringing our some notable works of Buddhist and Ambedkarite literature in recent years and promises to continue with its efforts in that direction. Samyak Prakashan has made the welfare of women and the exposure and eradication of superstion, hypocrisy and heterodoxt through the publication of useful literature of superior kind its pious mission which we pledge to carry out faithfully.

SAMYAK PRAKASHAN

ISBN 81-88794-56-2

CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
3 9371 00231 6099

ABOUT THE EDIT

Y. D. Sontakke

Yashwant Daulatrao Sont as born on 31st August 1949 ge Mahagaon, Tahsil-Arj), Distt. Gondiya (Maharas le completed his educati to graduation in Milind C of Science, Aurangabad (Maharashtra) established by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. Basically Mr. Sontakke is not the author, but he is active in social field. He is deeply interested in Buddhism, Vippassana and Ambedkar Mission. It will not be exaggeration to mention here that, probably he is the first person in half of the Chattisgarh to start the Ambedkar Mission in organized manner by the educated people inspired with Dr. Ambedkar's expectation "TO PAY BACK TO SOCIETY". The present book is the outcome of his dedication and deep faith in the mission of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar.

SAMYAK PRAKASHAN
32/3, Club Road, Paschimpuri, New Delhi-110 063
Phone : 2521 6147, 2521 6489 email : budhdharam@bol.net.in

ISBN 81-88794-56-2